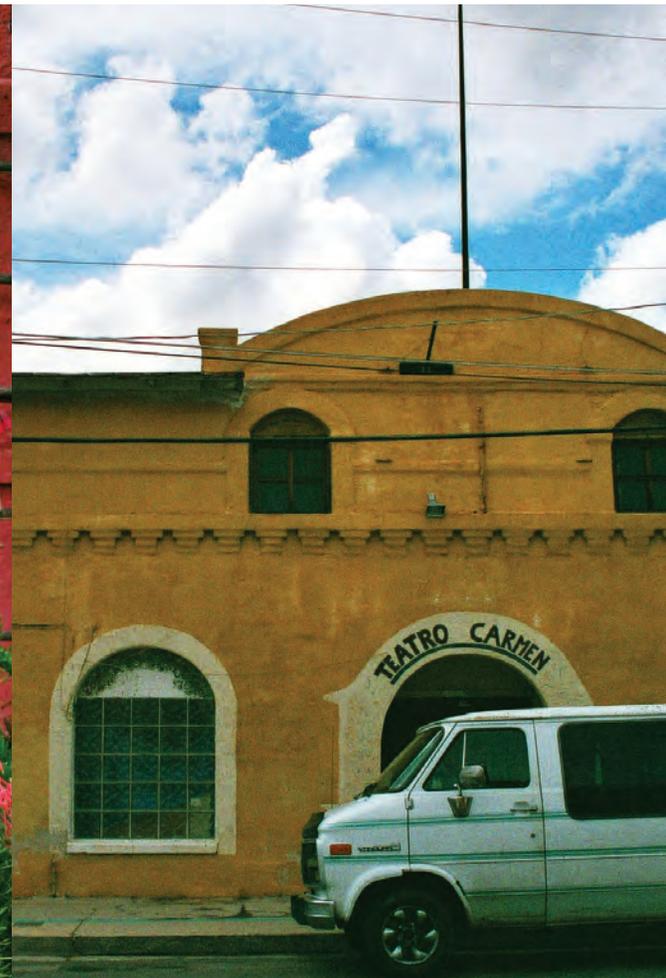


# TUCSON DISPLACEMENT STUDY

## A PLANNING STUDY OF TUCSON NEIGHBORHOODS AND DISPLACEMENT



*Tucson Neighborhood Houses; Photo Credit: Emily Ringel*

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Purpose

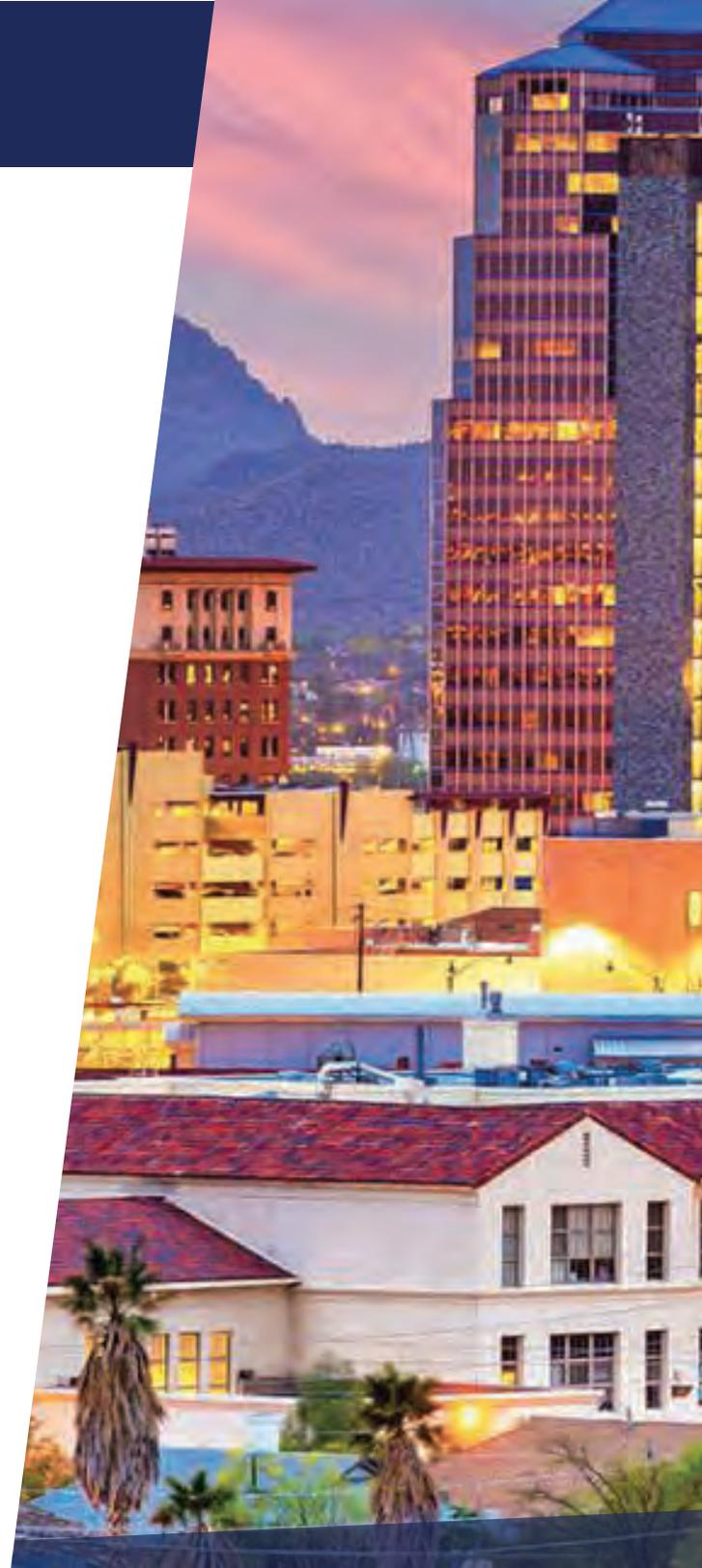
This report provides a framework for 1) identifying and prioritizing gentrifying areas where residents are at the highest risk of displacement, and 2) matching actions to the needs of vulnerable residents in these areas. Instead of pursuing a one-size-fits all set of actions, we recommend engaging with residents to identify place-based solutions through analyzing and honoring their lived experience.

## Introduction

Tucson's vibrant history, like most cities across the United States, is partly composed of discrimination and gentrification. While the residents of Tucson historically have enjoyed low housing costs relative to the rest of the country, income levels are similarly low, leaving many residents vulnerable to displacement. Historically, displacement has taken place through large public investments such as the Tucson Convention Center and the installment of the I-10 highway. Today, new developments like the SunLink streetcar, Rio Nuevo, and the corporate relocation of Caterpillar's headquarters contribute various types of displacement, as well as broader social and economic forces. In recent years these costs have risen to the point where many Tucsonans struggle to remain in their communities. In the years since the 2008 recession, downtown

Tucson and the surrounding neighborhoods have seen increasing residential and commercial development catalyzed by a recovering economy, low real-estate values, investments such as the streetcar, major public subsidies for development through the GPLET and Rio Nuevo, and planning policies like the Infill Incentive District. The recent rise in desirability of the inner city is a phenomenon that can be seen across the United States. Residents with more financial power are moving into these spaces, raising housing costs and changing the community to the point that long-time residents cannot recognize it or call it home. The impacts of this have been identified across Tucson, but are strongest around Downtown and adjacent neighborhoods to the south and west.

In 2019 Tucson's mayor and council first spoke about forming an anti-displacement task force. In January of 2020 the initiative was again brought up and city manager Michael Ortega suggested that instead of building this group from the ground up, it made more sense to use existing committees in Housing and Community Development.<sup>1</sup> With this, the City of Tucson began a concerted effort to work on the problem of gentrification and displacement. This report is a product of this new city-wide push; it aims to inform city efforts by





providing detailed background information on the processes of displacement and gentrification, supporting spatial and demographic data that visualizes Tucson's current state, and action recommendations derived from place-based research conducted across four areas of Tucson currently experiencing or at risk of displacement.

## **Gentrification and Displacement**

This report is informed by a literature review which sought to define gentrification, displacement, and their differences within the unique Tucson context.

### **What is Gentrification?**

The term gentrification can have a number of intended meanings depending on the speaker. This report uses a definition from the work of Peter Marcuse. According to Marcuse, "gentrification occurs when new residents—who disproportionately are young, white, professional, technical, and managerial workers with higher education and income levels replace older residents—who disproportionately are low-income, working-class and poor, minority and ethnic group members..."<sup>2</sup> Areas that experience the most gentrification usually comprise historically low-priced neighborhoods with commercial areas that have desirable goods and services like public transit access, historic architecture, and larger housing units that have experienced appreciation in

sales prices.<sup>3</sup> Gentrification in itself can have positive and negative impacts. A primary problem is the large-scale displacement that often accompanies it - destroying existing communities, decreasing housing options for the low income households, and causing the previous inhabitants of these neighborhoods to be forced to move.<sup>4</sup> This displacement can also happen due to disinvestment and abandonment, and as a result, responses to gentrification-related displacement must address both issues simultaneously.

### **What is Displacement?**

Displacement occurs when residents - almost exclusively low-income and/or minority - are unable to remain or return to their historical communities due to a variety of factors including, but not limited to gentrification and cycles of investment and disinvestment. These cycles remove the markers by which residents define place. As Marcuse states, "[w]hen a family sees the neighborhood around it changing dramatically, when their friends are leaving the neighborhood, when the stores they patronize are liquidating and new stores for other clientele are taking their places, and when changes in public facilities, in transportation patterns, and in support services all clearly are making the area less and less livable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe. Its actuality is only a matter of time"<sup>5</sup> At its core, displacement has a cascading effect which disrupts the stability of individuals,

households and neighborhoods.

## **TYPES OF DISPLACEMENT**

Displacement can be both direct (residential or commercial), or indirect (political or cultural).

### **Residential & Commercial:**

When a home or business location becomes either so expensive, the community has changed beyond recognition, and/or dilapidated that residents are forced to leave.

### **Political:**

When a neighborhood changes dramatically due to gentrification such that the original residents lose local decision-making power and representation to new (usually white, wealthier) residents.

### **Cultural:**

When a neighborhood changes dramatically due to gentrification such that the original residents lose their sense of community, belonging, and place - even if not physically priced out of housing.

### **Why Displacement?**

Focusing on displacement instead of gentrification offers a number of advantages. The term displacement places the resident who bears the majority of the burden as the subject whereas gentrification is a term which conceals or whitewashes the underlying processes and the lived-experience of the affected resident. Through learning about the lived experiences of the displaced, why they were displaced in the first place and what happened afterwards, we can identify points at which policy and infrastructure can be improved to adapt to and mitigate the effects of displacement, especially in low-income and minority populations.

***“Displacement disrupts the stability of a household and a neighborhood. It is critical to note, however, that stability is not the absence of mobility; mobility is the ability to choose to stay or to move. Displacement removes that choice.”***

***Marcus & Zuk (2017)***

### **Mapping Methodology**

The mapping process created an index that displays gentrification and displacement susceptibility through two phases of research. These were, 1) identifying vulnerable populations and measuring risk of displacement and 2) determining where displacement is taking place. Both of these phases were framed by the previously mentioned theoretical definitions of gentrification and displacement. The first phase was to collect data on various demographics and population distributions throughout Tucson. The group then selected datasets that were most applicable to and representative of the literature on gentrification. This literature review defined how and why certain populations are vulnerable to displacement. The second phase of this research collected and examined housing, renter, and occupancy data and then merged it with the phase one vulnerability data. The product of the second phase was index which determined the risk of an area is to displacement and gentrification. This visualized the landscape of risk across Tucson and identified its drivers.

## Drilldown Findings

### North Oracle Corridor

The Oracle Area is home to four different city recognized neighborhoods: Barrio Blue Moon, San Ignacio Yaqui, Adelanto, and Ocotillo Oracle. The neighborhoods present in this area have distinctive histories, and combined they represent a highly diverse population. The two most active neighborhoods are Barrio Blue Moon and San Ignacio Yaqui. These neighborhoods not only are home to high concentrations of vulnerable populations, but they also possess multiple historical assets and important cultural traditions. This should be noted because the presence of these assets could increase desirability of the areas if there was a significant infrastructure investment.

This region has a high redevelopment potential, accompanied by the risk of residential and commercial displacement. Over the last 15 years, there have been multiple planning efforts in this area, with the focus of economic revitalization and decreased crime rates. These efforts are designed to address a number of challenges faced by area residents, including high levels of poverty, crime and a lack of local amenities and resources. This area is currently included in the City of Tucson's plans for high capacity transit, which has the potential to make it significantly

more attractive to new investment. This investment has the potential to improve the mobility of the area's large transit dependent population. However, based on our analysis revitalization efforts could easily be accompanied with large scale displacement. Therefore, it is vital that planning efforts are community-based and include investments in affordable housing, neighborhood stabilization, and access to essential services.



Figure 1: Tucson House. Photo Credit: Dan Macy.

### Recommendations

#### Continue to engage with the community and activate neighborhood groups

The efforts by Thrive in the 05 and OARP have created good stepping stones by gaining community involvement and trust. In future planning endeavors, it will be

important to maintain those relationships and encourage community group activity. This is especially essential when looking toward major investment in the corridor.

#### Couple investment in affordable housing with transit investment & economic stimulus

As a major property owner in the area, the City of Tucson is uniquely positioned to be able to build affordable or mixed income transit-oriented development that could increase the city's affordable housing supply while improving the community for existing residents.<sup>6</sup> City efforts in this area should continue to focus on engaging with local residents and providing services identified by the community as needed including improved affordable housing, better walking and biking facilities, and access to healthy food.

#### Create a toolkit for monitoring and measuring equity

To secure improvements and policies that serve the existing local community, it is recommended that the city create a system to monitor progress and equity. This could come in the form of a scorecard and be utilized periodically in an equity analysis. This will assist in ensuring that improvements are benefiting the community and adjustments can be made to policy more immediately if large scale displacement is occurring.



Figure 2: City of South Tucson. Photo Credit: A.E. Araiza. Source: Arizona Daily Star.



Figure X: City of South Tucson. Photo Credit: A.E. Araiza. Source: Arizona Daily Star.

### City of South Tucson Area

This area comprises all of the city of South Tucson, as well as portions of the Sunset Villa neighborhood, Wakefield neighborhood, and South Park neighborhood. Much of its history reflects the early origins of the city of Tucson itself. The area has long been an important center of Mexican-American culture.<sup>7</sup>

The area is especially vulnerable to commercial displacement, which could spur residential, cultural and political displacement. This process could potentially be sped up by a proposed high capacity transit line through the area. As residents are displaced from their communities, and as new commercial and residential development expands and replaces older developments, the area could experience significant cultural displacement, damaging its unique character.

### Recommendations

#### Develop an Equity Scorecard or Toolkit

The City of Tucson should be proactive in promoting equity along the future transit line that is being explored by the City of Tucson Department of Transportation. This recommendation focuses on prioritizing the existing character of the community and its residents and encourages working together with the community to create equitable transit-oriented development.

#### Work with community leaders

The City of Tucson should work together with local leaders to identify sensitive sites with historical and cultural value and draft policies to protect them. Additionally, the city should be prepared to protect those who are most at risk to residential displacement. This could include mandating that specific projects include a meaningful percentage of affordable housing in exchange for more permissive zoning, but should also have mechanisms in place to protect small, local businesses.

#### Educate Renters on their Rights

With a majority of households in the City of South Tucson Area being renter-occupied, it is important that the City of Tucson partner with local community leaders and organizations to help educate renters on their rights. Renters in this area are those most vulnerable to the effects of displacement and should be protected as much as possible.

### Arroyo Chico Area

Arroyo Chico, Barrio San Antonio, and the Miles Neighborhood represent the Eastern focus area identified by the displacement mapping analysis. Barrio San Antonio and Arroyo Chico are mainly residential with areas of commerce and industry along their southern and western borders, while Miles is almost exclusively residential. The area as a whole is home to a wide variety of shops, services, educational facilities, and community gathering spots.

ACS data, responses from neighborhood organizations, the effects of current projects such as the Broadway widening and the Sunshine Mile Overlay, and close proximity to downtown and the University of Arizona, create ideal conditions for the potential displacement of current residents and businesses. Based on our definition of displacement and its sub-types, this area is vulnerable to near-term residential and



Figure 4: Ignite Sign Museum in Arroyo Chico. Photo Credit: A.E. Araiza. Source: Arizona Daily Star

## Recommendations

### Provide assistance and education to renters on their rights

This includes notifying renters about potential challenges such as short eviction notice periods and potentially providing programs to assist in emergency housing costs. Based on the demographic characteristics of the east study area, a high proportion of renters coupled with an increase in rents in the area between 2010 and 2017 indicate a population potentially vulnerable to displacement. Renters on fixed or slowly rising incomes are the most vulnerable to sharp rent increases.

### Increase working relationships with community development coalitions to secure affordable housing

The City of Tucson should work in tandem with community housing groups whenever possible to purchase affordable housing units within the area. Vacant properties are

prime targets for providing more affordable housing to city residents. Increasing the available stock of affordable housing units is one of the most effective means of preventing the displacement of renters.

### Lobby for and encourage inclusionary zoning in the future

While the use of inclusionary zoning for the purposes of mandating affordable housing units is currently illegal in Arizona, the City of Tucson should consider creating an inclusionary zoning policy in the event that state law is changed. When redevelopment comes to this area - or any area in the city vulnerable to displacement - portions of high-end and market rate housing can be set aside as dedicated affordable units.

### Improving communication with community groups

This type of communication is especially important in regards to upcoming development projects. Upfront communication can help neighborhoods to prepare for possible changes and can allow neighborhoods to voice legitimate concerns regarding displacement as well as identify possible solutions to address displacement before it happens. A side benefit of this approach is the ability to build city residents' trust in government.



Figure 5: Welcome to Menlo Park Mural. Source: Sentinel Park RV.

## Menlo Park Area

Menlo Park and Barrio Kroeger Lane represent the western focus area identified by the displacement mapping analysis. These neighborhoods include cultural sites dating back over 4,000 years to the birth of Tucson.<sup>8</sup> A vibrant Mexican-American culture that holds community gatherings and events such as the Dia de Los Muertos Procession calls this area home.

These communities have experienced impacts over the last ten years from development efforts like the SunLink streetcar and downtown redevelopment efforts, which include the massive influx of Rio Nuevo TIF funds just outside the area boundaries. These projects heighten the vulnerability to residential and commercial displacement. In reaction to these changes, neighborhood leadership

groups have taken several steps to ensure they have a voice in the future decision making and to help mitigate negative impacts of new development, especially displacement among longtime residents. It is recommended that the city make use of neighborhood momentum and expand support to increase resident engagement and investment opportunities.

## Recommendations

### **Maintain recognition and partnerships between city and current neighborhood leadership**

The Menlo Park Neighborhood Association has spearheaded efforts to combat gentrification and create more affordable housing through their *Gentrification and Affordable Housing Steering Committee*. The committee goals focus on keeping vulnerable populations from being displaced. Property tax exemptions for seniors, outreach and education for at-risk residents, stabilization and loan programs are desired tools the neighborhood wishes to implement. The Barrio Kroeger Lane Neighborhood Association specifically calls out for a method of rent control or freeze on property taxes. These efforts should be further supported by the city to make sure neighborhood leadership and input is recognized and valued.

### **Utilize and encourage Community Benefits Agreements (CBAs)**

The established and strong neighborhood leadership may greatly benefit from the use of CBAs. Community concern is heavily focused on incoming development and the preservation of neighborhood culture; CBAs can provide legal protection of these resources. They can also provide the community with leverage to create local business opportunities, derive profit from development, and transparent communication pathways between the residents and developers. This type of engagement can build community trust, a sense of ownership, and empowerment.

### **Support Community Land Trusts (CLTs)**

The presence of a neighborhood based CLT would be valuable in providing permanent affordable housing for the west side. As additional development occurs and potentially raises rents and land values, protecting land for affordable residential use should be a main priority for the city. Vacant lots in these neighborhoods offer potential CLT building sites. With a change in state law, the city could also consider inclusionary zoning for new developments, especially those being financed by Rio Nuevo or along the Sunlink Streetcar.

Figure 6: Tap & Bottle. Photo credit: Pejmon Hondaee.



Figure 7: House. Photo credit: Bree Evans.

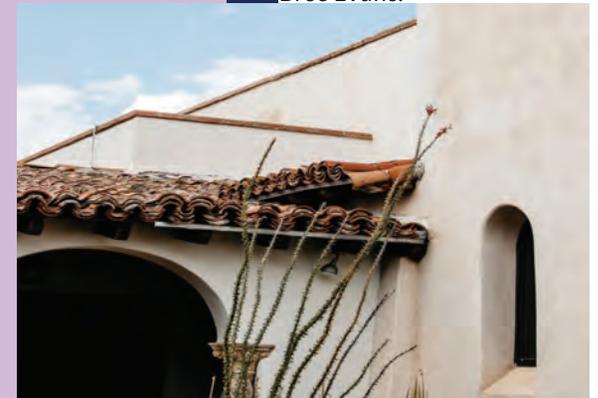


Figure 8: Swimming Pool. Photo credit: Shelley Pauls.



## Regionally Applicable Actions

The analysis of the drilldown areas highlights how displacement is a unique, place-based process. While it is important to honor this and the lived experience of residents when working to mitigate displacement within an area, the analysis pointed to several actions that were present across all four drilldown areas. Such actions may warrant special attention because of their potential to be effective across the City of Tucson.

### Engage with Community

The lived experience of residents and communities is the core of efforts to mitigate and adapt to displacement. The city should engage with communities and listen to these experiences in order to identify effective place-based actions. Efforts such as this also lay the groundwork for relationships defined by transparent communication and mutual trust.

### Cooperate with Community Development Organizations

Many community organizations are well-placed and possess valuable local knowledge. The city should use this to its advantage by improving and leveraging relationships with these organizations. This could occur through creating communication networks between the city and these organizations, informational resources, or a dedicated liaison position. With current events like Covid-19 and increasing impacts

of climate change, a strong city-community organization relationship can increase the reach and effectiveness of city actions.

### Provide Renter Education and Assistance

Across the drilldown areas and the city as a whole, a large portion of residents are renters. When the inherently unstable nature of renting is combined with drivers of displacement like rising housing costs, renters become especially vulnerable. Measures should be created and implemented which help to educate renters about their rights and provide assistance if needed.

### Provide Additional Tax Relief

While the State of Arizona provides some aid for senior and disabled homeowners, additional tax relief may be especially effective for senior citizens, low income residents, and residents who are unemployed, disabled, and receiving social security assistance. These residents are vulnerable to displacement due to low or fixed incomes and despite owning property, they may be unable to keep up with property taxes.

### Couple Investments in Transit and Economic Stimulus with Affordable Housing

The city is currently proposing significant investments in large infrastructure projects, transit lines, and economic stimulus. These

investments should be coupled with transit-oriented (TOD) development that includes a significant amount of affordable housing.



Figure 9: Tiny House. Source: The Dunbar Pavilion.



Figure 10: Mural. Photo Credit: A.E. Araiza.



Figure 11: Open House. Source: AZPM.

## Moving Forward

*“Displacement is a national problem, a regional phenomenon, and a community experience. We must similarly seek to identify, evaluate, and enact policy change at all levels.” -Marcus & Zuk (2017)*

Despite making specific recommendations on actions to take and policies to change, the most important lesson from this research is to listen to those affected by displacement and then act. Solutions to these problems will be diverse and place-based. They will need to honor the communities in which they are enacted. In addition to physical solutions like housing, effort should be made to educate and empower Tucsonans to create a better city. As Marcus and Zuk state, change must be made at all levels of government and community in order to steer urban areas towards becoming places of health and opportunity for all.

# INTRODUCTION

Over the past decade, much of central Tucson has experienced transformative growth, especially in the downtown core. While this growth has been beneficial in many ways - creating new destinations in the downtown core, raising median incomes citywide, and filling long vacant land, it has also led to difficult cultural change and some neighborhoods being priced out of the reach of longtime residents.

This report explores the effects of gentrification in Tucson, with a focus on the prevalence of displacement within the city. It defines gentrification and displacement within a Tucson context, outlines the different types of displacement occurring in the city, and provides historical context on the subject. This report identifies populations and communities at high-risk for displacement using methodology grounded in applied social theory. In addition to this analysis, this report outlines how specific communities within Tucson are responding to existing or potential displacement. Finally, this report explores policies and strategies for encouraging more equitable development within the city of Tucson.

This report is based on data from a period of almost unprecedented economic expansion in the United States. Common planning strategies during these times have primarily

focused on growth management and the creation of affordable housing. However, during the writing and researching of this report we have seen a sudden change in the economic situation, of which the lasting effects are still unknown. While funding sources and strategies might change during an economic downturn, it is still important to consider displacement in future planning efforts.

Efforts to revitalize an economy can often be a cause of displacement. Therefore, as the state of the local economy alters course, it will be important to use this report as a lesson on past endeavors. Going forward, this report will be useful as a guide on ways to pair economic stimulus policy efforts with efforts to secure affordable assets, support underserved communities, and maintain Tucson's unique cultural identity.





# Gentrification & Displacement

## Gentrification

Gentrification is an often loaded term that can have very different meanings to different groups. Within the realm of planning studies, definitions of gentrification are often based off of a seminal 1985 study of New York City by Peter Marcuse. According to Marcuse, “gentrification occurs when new residents—who disproportionately are young, white, professional, technical, and managerial workers with higher education and income levels—replace older residents—who disproportionately are low-income, working-class and poor, minority and ethnic group members...”<sup>9</sup> Marcuse’s work identified that while gentrification could result in wholesale displacement of existing residents, this displacement could also result from disinvestment.

## Requirements for an Area to Gentrify

Since the phenomenon of gentrification was first studied in London in the 1960s, researchers have identified different ways for predicting where it will occur. According to Hamnett (1991), there are four main requirements for gentrification: potential gentrifiers; attractive inner-city environments; a cultural preference for inner-city living; and a supply of suitable

areas for gentrification.<sup>10</sup> Hamnett’s definition of suitable areas builds upon Smith’s (1979) work exploring the rent gap theory and the need for a profit motive to explain large-scale private reinvestment in dilapidated inner-city neighborhoods.

Hamnett’s work helps explain why different cities experience different rates of gentrification. For example, a largely low-income city with a small professional class would be much less likely to experience gentrification than one with a strong middle class. Likewise, newer cities such as Phoenix experience much smaller pockets of gentrification than older cities due to a smaller number of attractive inner-city neighborhoods with amenities that cannot be found in newer suburban areas and a lower concentration of professional jobs in the downtown core.

### REQUIREMENTS FOR AN AREA TO GENTRIFY

Potential gentrifiers

Attractive inner-city environments

A cultural preference for inner-city living

A supply of suitable areas for gentrification

Figure 12: Hamnett, 1991

## Displacement

While the investment from gentrification can have positive impacts on low-income communities that have been traditionally ignored, it can also lead to the displacement

of residents with long-standing community roots and few other choices.

As Marcuse shows, displacement occurs in similar ways through both investment in the form of gentrification and large-scale disinvestment, though each may require different policy responses.<sup>11</sup> This focus on displacement is important because it centers interventions on those most impacted by neighborhood change. According to Marcuse, “Displacement affects more than those actually displaced at any given moment. When a family sees the neighborhood around it changing dramatically, when their friends are leaving the neighborhood, when the stores they patronize are liquidating and new stores for other clientele are taking their places, and when changes in public facilities, in transportation patterns, and in support services all clearly are making the area less and less livable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe. Its actuality is only a matter of time. Families living under these circumstances may move as soon as they can, rather than wait for the inevitable; nonetheless they are displaced. This is true both for displacement from gentrification and for abandonment.” This instability impacts entire neighborhoods as well as the choices available to low-income households. As Marcus and Zuk (2017) note, “...stability is not the absence of mobility; mobility is the ability to choose to stay or move. Displacement removes that choice”.<sup>12</sup>

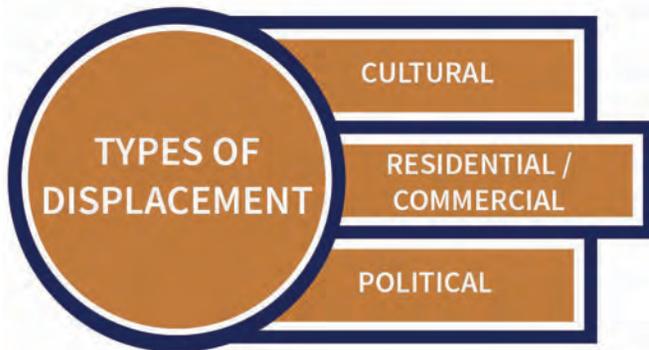


Figure 13: Zuk, 2017

### Subtypes of Displacement

There are several subtypes of displacement which can result from gentrification, investment, or disinvestment.<sup>13</sup>

#### Residential/ Commercial Displacement

This form of displacement refers to conditions when residents or local businesses leave their homes or leased locations due to change in current conditions in the area. There are two types of residential and commercial displacement.

- **Direct displacement** occurs when residents or local businesses can no longer afford home or rent payments due to rising real estate costs. Residents may also be forced out by evictions or may not have their rents renewed. Direct displacement results from investment, development, or urban renewal type projects and becomes a characteristic of gentrification. Disinvestment can

also play a role in direct displacement as declining services, public facilities, and infrastructure can create conditions which force long-time residents out.

- **Indirect displacement**, or exclusionary displacement, is the process by which other low income residents are unable to move into a gentrifying or appreciating area. If other low-income and working class residents are effectively priced out of moving to an area, exclusionary displacement has occurred. At a minimum, the process of gentrification results in exclusionary displacement by preventing the movement of certain income strata into a gentrifying area.

#### Political Displacement

Both direct and indirect displacement are capable of causing political displacement. As new residents of different incomes, backgrounds, tastes, and ethnicities move in, long-standing racial or ethnic groups become outvoted or outnumbered. This process dilutes historical power bases for marginalized groups. Decision making power and further underrepresentation of already marginalized groups is the result of political displacement.

#### Cultural Displacement

While direct and indirect displacement generally have a set of policy, development, or financial causes which can be identified.

Cultural displacement is more varied, complex, and can have a variety of causes and outcomes. Cultural displacement or alienation is the process of cultural change within a neighborhood. New residents may move in, generational families may move out, and cornerstone businesses may leave or change their target audience. All of these changes are causes of cultural displacement. Long time residents may feel a sense of alienation and feel as if they are losing their community to unwanted change. Although gentrification may not be occurring and financial circumstances may have nothing to do with residents choosing to leave, cultural displacement can still be occurring.

#### Why Displacement

Based on this research the authors recommend that displacement be the term used in thinking and policy creation when attempting to preserve and protect the ability of low-income and minority residents to remain and maintain their physical, mental, and emotional sense of place. The term displacement places the resident who bears the majority of the burden as the subject whereas gentrification is a term which conceals or whitewashes the underlying processes and the lived-experience of the affected resident. Displacement is actualized on several planes. A resident can be physically displaced from their home which causes a cascade of events like trauma of losing

one's home to barriers like further travel times and marginal housing. A resident can also remain in place thus keeping access to their house and neighborhood. But over the ensuing years they must watch as their neighborhood is consumed by residents of different backgrounds and socio-economic classes with different visions. They slowly lose access to their community gathering spaces, to services within their price range, and their sense of place.

Policies and programs created to help vulnerable residents (low-income and minority) should be informed by this perspective. It is within the lived experience of those who are displaced that the City of Tucson can identify effective strategies to mitigate displacement. The active listening required to effectively identify these strategies will also act as a platform to mend and build relationships with communities affected by displacement.



*Figure 14: New Construction. Photo Credit: Emma Lee. Source: WHYY.*



*Figure 15: Remodeled House. Source: AZ Housing Coalition.*



# TUCSON CONTEXT

This section of the report illustrates how displacement appears in Tucson. This will be done by looking at the history of displacement in Tucson and the current policies in place to prevent and mitigate displacement at the local and state level. This section will also outline the limitations in state legislation for policy making.

## Background

The history of gentrification and displacement in Tucson, Arizona can be traced to broader national trends. In the 1950's, Tucson experienced significant population growth as returning World War II veterans and new families began to move to the suburbs and the southwest. With support from the G.I. Bill and federal housing policy, people and businesses moved away from historic downtowns. This trend occurred in cities across the country as largely subsidized and federally driven suburban development expanded the wealth and opportunities of the middle class. In the 1960's many businesses and middle to upper-class populations had left central Tucson and moved to the suburban areas to the east. Many of the residents remaining in the downtown core were people of color and were left out of the expansion of the middle class. Barrios surrounding downtown were culturally diverse and filled with now historic architecture.<sup>14 15 16</sup>

Of note is Barrio Viejo, a residential neighborhood located south of downtown Tucson overwhelmingly home to residents of color, including the city's largest Chinese-American population. The suburbanization of people and businesses across the United States caused a steady decline in the investment and upkeep of centrally located neighborhoods which were almost always home to residents of color. In the 1960's, the desire to reinvest and bring back residents to central cities resulted in serious revitalization efforts under the federal Urban Renewal program. Similar to other minority neighborhoods, Barrio Viejo and other downtown neighborhoods suffered from disinvestment and were generally disdained by suburban populations and city officials.

Through Urban Renewal, Barrio Viejo was deemed blighted and was targeted for revitalization. A swath of minority homes and businesses in an area covering over 80 acres was demolished, forcibly displacing nearly 1,200 residents. The resulting construction was the Tucson Convention Center and the La Placita downtown office complex, the latter of which began to be demolished in 2018. The process of clearing slums, blighted neighborhoods, and disinvested areas, both in Tucson and the United States as a whole have left a painful legacy for communities of color throughout the country. In Tucson,







Figure 16: Barrio Viejo, c. 1946. Photo credit: Reginald Russell. Source: Tucson Citizen

distrust of the city is high, especially among historic neighborhood organizations and longtime residents as the legacy of the Tucson Convention Center is an issue that is still remembered today.<sup>17 18 19</sup>

As suburbanization continued and Urban Renewal generally labeled a failure, downtown Tucson continued to decline after being the center of mercantile commerce for over 200 years. The 1970's saw the loss of many businesses and department stores. By the late 1980's, all department stores and most individual retailers had left to serve the suburban population. Downtown buildings were obsolete and vacancy rates peaked around 20%, raising concerns about the need for serious economic redevelopment. In the 1990's and 2000's, downtown mostly functioned as a government center, with very little commerce and attractive entertainment

options. The downtown atmosphere was described as “not much to see besides government buildings. The area was largely dark and deserted at night”.<sup>20</sup>

The public attitude towards downtown in the mid-2000's demonstrated the need for revitalization at a much more rapid pace. Between 2007 and 2014, the Armory Park Del Sol residential district, the Mercado San Agustin mixed use district, and the new headquarters of Tucson Electric Power entered downtown as forces of private revitalization and investment efforts. The approval of the SunLink Streetcar in 2006 and its subsequent completion in 2014 solidified the City of Tucson's commitment to downtown redevelopment. The streetcar has been credited with raising property values in the neighborhoods along its route as well as receiving \$1.4 billion dollars worth of investments to properties along the route. Pennington Creative has estimated that over 200 new businesses have opened in the downtown core since revitalization efforts became more serious with even more growth occurring after the completion of the streetcar.<sup>21 22 23 24</sup>

Current development in the downtown core has been stimulated by the completion of the SunLink streetcar and the inflow of private investments. Rapid residential and commercial development west of downtown at the Mercado district has raised

serious concerns among residents about affordability and rising rents. Additionally, the siting of Caterpillar Surface Mining's new headquarters on the banks of the Santa Cruz river have prompted an outcry against the use of tax incentives for large businesses. In Menlo Park and Barrio Sin Nombre, house flippers have been targeting long time residents or deteriorating homes for renovation and resale to more well off residents. Homes originally sold for values in the low \$100,000 range are now renovated and on the market for over \$300,000.

Residents have cited a loss of culture and are beginning to feel the effects of gentrification and more specifically, cultural and financial displacement. A lack of housing ownership and solid affordable housing options are contributing to the displacement of residents in most of the neighborhoods surrounding downtown. Looking into the future, the proposed transformation of the Ronstadt Transit Center and the proposed route of a new streetcar line running from the Tucson Mall to Tucson International Airport raise further questions about how to deal with gentrification and displacement. The developer for the new Ronstadt Transit Center has committed to 20% of residential units built be affordable, a step in the right direction.<sup>25 26 27 28 29 30 31</sup>

In the modern era of Tucson development, the evidence for the involuntary or financial

displacement of homeowners and property owners due to downtown revitalization is largely absent. The groups in Tucson which are most affected by financial displacement are renters who lack access to affordable housing options. The two most vulnerable are: older residents who are long term renters who have aged in place and may be physically, socially, or financially unable to move; and younger to middle age residents who do not hold higher education degrees, are renters, and are not active in the workforce. Although financial gentrification and displacement pressures are the most severe near downtown, 4th avenue, and in the Mercado district, local reporting points primarily to feelings of cultural displacement. Residents feel that new people who they do not know or cannot relate to are moving into their neighborhoods and causing a loss of neighborhood identity and culture. The feeling of cultural displacement is certainly valid and may be a warning sign of financial displacement that could occur with increased private investments and capital projects.<sup>32 33 34</sup>



Figure 17: Tucson Streetcar, c. 2015 in Downtown. Photo credit: Jacob Chinn. Source: UA Alumni Association.



Figure 18: Mercado Saint Augustin Annex, c. 2018. Photo Credit: Tucson's Mercado District. Source: Twitter.



Figure 19: Caterpillar's Tucson Headquarters, c. 2018. Photo Credit: Lasertrimman. Source: Flickr.

# Tucson Policy Overview

## State

State legislation has a significant impact on the presence displacement and what kinds of preventative strategies can be implemented by local municipalities. The State of Arizona has historically been a proponent of lenient land-use controls, consistently passing legislation which supports the rights and freedoms of developers and land owners. This is clear when looking at the state land-use laws and landowner v. tenant rights legislation. There are also additional legislative measures which affect gentrification and displacement in Tucson, such as education funding policy and definitions of poverty. These topics are both critical factors when thinking about community stability and poverty prevention.<sup>35</sup> While there are state level efforts to increase affordable housing stock, such as State Tax Incentives and the Arizona Housing Trust Fund, these strategies do not holistically address displacement challenges.<sup>36</sup>

Inclusionary zoning, rent control and limiting short term rentals are all strategies which have been documented to prevent displacement, with some being more

successful than others some more than others.<sup>37 38 39</sup> However, state preemptions limit the City of Tucson's ability to entertain or implement these more preventative strategies.<sup>40</sup> Proposition 207 is another limitation on preventative planning strategies. While Proposition 207 is not technically considered a preemption, it is a piece of state legislation which reframes the notion of eminent domain, and expands the responsibility of municipalities to compensate landowners for loss of land value. This in many ways restricts the ability of municipalities in their zoning actions, as any "down zoning" or change in zoning which limits a land owners ability to increase the profit of their property is considered an eminent domain taking.<sup>41</sup>

The Arizona Residential Landlord and Tenant Act is the primary state legislation which determines tenant and landlord rights. Overall, this act generally leans toward protecting the rights of the landlord over tenants. This includes the ability to terminate a rental agreement with 2 weeks' notice, or ten days' notice if the tenant has violated the rental agreement.<sup>42</sup> This notably affects tenants whose landlords are interested in altering a rental agreement so as to increase rental cost. Landlords also have relatively relaxed refuse-to-rent laws. Further, deposits in this state can be up to one and a half months rent, instead of just one month's rent. There are also no limits on

late fees, and a rental license is not required to rent.

Housing discrimination has been cited as an issue in Arizona. This is mainly due to the nature of reporting housing discrimination, which is done only at the state level with no methods for local enforcement. Surveys have shown that reporting is rarely done, even when discrimination occurs. A quote from the Tucson and Pima County Analysis of Impediment to Fair Housing Choice stated: "Though the above stated official guidelines are in place to receive and process fair housing complaints, it is very difficult for the average resident to find this information and navigate the complaint process."<sup>43</sup> This same report mentioned that enforcing the fair housing ordinance, as well as monitoring and reporting are all major impediments for fair access to housing in the city.

Overall the State of Arizona provides few avenues by which local municipalities can mitigate displacement. Because of these limits on local land-use controls, local municipalities have become reliant on other tools to create affordable housing and prevent displacement. The most common approaches include: creating incentives for the development of affordable housing, reliance on federal programs such as section 8 and HUD, and partnering with nonprofit organizations to manage displacement. These approaches are all

effective in providing and maintaining affordable housing, as well as dealing with some of the symptoms of displacement, such as supporting homeless populations. However, these actions do not necessarily address the issues in a holistic manner. Additionally, much of the state legislation so far addresses displacement as exclusively as a housing stock issue and formulated policy accordingly.



Figure 20: Arizona State Capitol. Photo credit: Andrew Zarivny. Source: Shutterstock.

## Local

Current Tucson policies and programs were researched to understand what is presently being done to prevent and mitigate the effects of displacement. This analysis is not only a review of what is already in place, but how policies and programs may be enhanced, altered or

altogether reconsidered. Findings of this review reveal that there are many federally funded programs that are run by City and County to help people stay in their homes, but there are few organizations that focus on advocating for housing and preventative measures to mitigate displacement. Additionally, Tucson's history and current trends of development and housing point to housing segregation as the root issue of cultural and physical displacement. Tucson neighborhoods have been segregated by race and ethnicity, with neighborhoods of color frequently neglected by investments. Now these areas are being hot-spotted for new development, forcing longtime residents out. The legacy of housing segregation is a local and nation-wide issue, yet very little has been done to actively address it.

### **Affordable Housing and Housing Assistance**

There are many federally funded programs that are utilized in Tucson to provide aid to eligible families and individuals in need of affordable housing, support services, home repairs, rent assistance, and relocation assistance.

The City of Tucson has been successful in creating more affordable housing units, especially in the last 4-5 years. The increase in affordable housing units downtown has been attributed to the competitive low-

income housing tax credits (LIHTC) being distributed to areas with good public transit. The new streetcar, opened in 2014, provided the City with this competitive advantage. The low-income tax credits are the primary source of funding for new affordable housing



Figure 21: Downtown Tucson. Source: Western Technologies Inc.

throughout the nation. As reported by the Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) LIHTC database, 546 low-income units have been built. Though these are successful actions, the number of families in Tucson in need of affordable housing is considerably much higher than the numbers of units being built. As stated by Sally Stang, former director of Housing and Community Development, the community needs 60,000 more affordable housing units to meet the needs of families.<sup>44</sup>

The City's HCD manages several of the federal funded programs related to housing assistance. One of those programs is the Section 8 Housing Assistance program, which allows eligible tenants to pay only

30% of their income to private landlords and the federal government pays the difference between the tenant's rent and the market rate. Regulations required specific contracted specifications for the rental units. Currently, more than 18,000 families in Tucson are on the waiting list to receive Section 8 assistance. Section 8 housing units are in short supply, building units is costly, and landlord participation is reported to be very low.<sup>45</sup> Amid the current Covid-19 crisis, this may change as residents lose jobs, can't pay rent, and look for rental assistance.

The HCD has several homeowner repair programs, one of which is the rehabilitation program. This program helps residents needing mobile home and single-family dwelling repairs, including low income households, people with disabilities, and residents in need of emergency repairs. According to HCD, most of the work is done in the downtown area where the age of housing is older and the tenure of residents tends to be longer. Housing repairs present an opportunity for sustainability as it engages residents to renew their homes and creates a better sense of community and support with the intent of keeping longtime residents in their homes. Additionally, the mobile home repair program is aimed at helping some of the lowest income populations stay in their homes by keeping them healthy and safe. For mobile homes, people receiving the repairs must be the

owner. The amount of available assistance per trailer ranges from \$2,500-\$5,000 dollars.<sup>46</sup>



Figure 22: 7th Avenue Commons Affordable Housing Project. Photo credit: Ron Medvescek. Source: Arizona Daily Star.

When leadership of the HCD, Glenn Moyer and Raymond Quihuis, were asked about improvements, they discussed how increased outreach education and improved bicycle infrastructure in low-income neighborhoods could help families reach more affordable resources and housing options. Additionally, it was mentioned that federal funding, like Community Development Block Grants (CDBG), have specific restrictions and regulations on how the grant money can be used. These restrictions present administrative burdens and limit funding for important programs like human services for the homeless.

Beyond federally funded housing assistance programs, the City of Tucson created the Tucson Housing Trust Fund (THTF) in

2006. The purpose of THTF is to create more affordable housing for families in Tucson as well as to identify and eliminate barriers to affordable housing. This funding source is currently managed by the Metro Housing Commission and receives revenue from multi-family rental conversion fees, unexpected funds for utilities services, and low-income assistance programs.<sup>47</sup>

### Community Land Trusts

Land trusts are community-based organizations that take legal ownership or stewardship over land to create and provide affordable housing to the public. Typically, this cooperative exchange provides opportunity to conserve land and affordable prices while allowing property renters to build wealth.<sup>48</sup> There are two well established land trusts operating within the city: The Pima County Community Land Trust (PCCLT) and Southern Arizona Land Trust (SALT). PCCLT provides affordable housing in perpetuity by owning land and leasing it to people who live in housing built on that land. This organization was started in 2010 and has a strong partnership with the County and the City.<sup>49</sup> SALT was formed in 2008 and provides affordable homes in partnership with Pima County and the Neighborhood Conservation Department.<sup>50</sup>

### Planning and Zoning

The City of Tucson currently provides many of its incentives to develop through

its special development districts, such as the Infill Incentive District, which provides developers with the opportunity to modify development regulations in order to provide greater infill and encourage sustainable redevelopment. These special development districts act as overlay zones and have typically been created in areas where there are higher vacancy rates, older housing structures in poorer condition, and areas with declining populations. Overlay zones are an important tool that the City uses, in conjunction with the development community, in order to facilitate growth and redevelopment. Many of the development regulations that are imposed by the underlying zones are eligible for modification based on the needs of each individual project.<sup>51</sup>

Another tool that the City of Tucson has used to incentivize infill development throughout the city is through the use of the Flexible Lot Development option. Flexible Lot Developments provide “greater flexibility and creativity in the design of residential development by providing incentives” to the development community in order to encourage “appropriate urban infill development on lots with site constraints.” Typically, the Flexible Lot Development option allows developers to create smaller lots with reduced perimeter yard setbacks and provides the city with “high-quality sustainable development within the City”.<sup>52</sup>

Where developers do not have the option to opt into overlay special development districts, the City of Tucson has created various special modification requests, such as the Technical Standard Modification Request, in order to provide developers with the opportunity to modify technical standard regulations in order to make the development of specific projects more feasible. Similar processes, such as the Development Design Option and Parking Design Modification Request, are used to modify zoning regulations. While these processes are not necessarily development incentives, it is worth noting that they do provide developers with greater opportunities to develop projects that otherwise would be more difficult to develop.

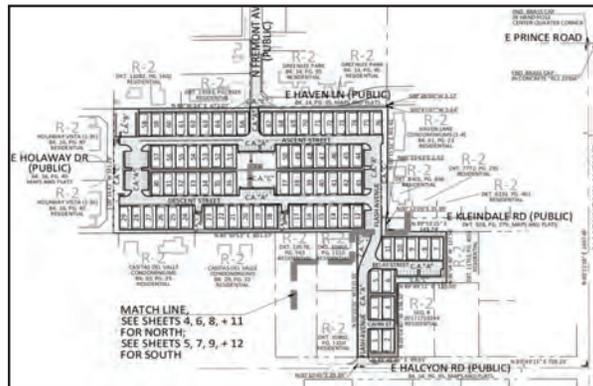


Figure 23: Mountain Enclave is an example of a Flexible Lot Development. Source: City of Tucson.

### Fair Housing Law and Enforcement

The City of Tucson Code includes a fair housing ordinance which provides protections based on age, marital status, sexual orientation, gender identity, and ancestry.<sup>53</sup> In addition to these local protections, there are seven federally protected classes, these include, race, color, national origin, religion, sex, disability, and familial status. Those found responsible for a violation of this ordinance are fined. The County and City file complaints through the HUD, the Southwest Fair Housing Council (SWFHC), or the Arizona Attorney General’s Office.

Tucson’s historic and present context point to current displacement stemming from housing segregation, an issue directly related to fair housing. Historically, Tucson’s efforts to modernize during the Urban Renewal movement led to demolition of downtown minority neighborhoods. Afterwards, neighborhoods in and around the urban renewal areas have experienced major disinvestments from local government and private companies. Recent opportunity maps show that Tucson is very segregated by ethnicity, but private companies have turned to these disinvested areas to take advantage of cheap development opportunities and rent gaps.<sup>54</sup> The City of Tucson along with many other jurisdictions in the U.S. are mandated to take action to

undo segregated housing<sup>55</sup>, yet very little has been done to actively deal with it. Jay Young, executive director of the SWFHC, argues that the most successful way to deal with housing segregation is getting the federal government more involved as it takes the pressure off the market and the force of gentrification.



Figure 24: Evolution of Tucson's Development. Photo credit: Juan Gomez-Novy & Stefanos Polyzoides. Source: Journal of the Southwest, Volume 45, 2003.



# CASE STUDIES

The purpose of this analysis is to discuss the variety of policies and strategies being used nationally and to attempt to discern policy's levels of success to combat displacement. This section of the report will give a brief overview of commonly-used policies in these municipalities and common methods of evaluating success in policy implementation. Additionally, this report includes a deeper analysis of anti-displacement policies and strategies in two locations: Austin TX and Portland OR. These locations were specifically selected for a deeper analytical review due in part to a number of factors, including: Geographic location, demographics, political atmosphere/ local adopted policies, and the presence of reports related to local gentrification or displacement.

## **National Summary**

In order to better understand how municipalities have addressed displacement in their communities, 12 different municipalities were examined as case studies locations. The municipalities chosen for this report are as follows: Albuquerque, New Mexico, USA; Austin, Texas, USA; Boise, Idaho, USA; Boston, Massachusetts, USA; Charlotte, North Carolina, USA; Flagstaff, Arizona, USA; Los Angeles, California, USA; New York City, New York, USA; Phoenix,

Arizona, USA; San Antonio, Texas, USA; Suzhou, China, and Portland, Oregon, USA.

This report found that many of these municipalities had created similar strategies and policies to combat displacement, such as preserving affordable housing or dedicating specific funds to protect those most vulnerable to displacement. However, though many shared common policies and strategies, the most successful application of these strategies and policies has been in those communities that have tailored them to fit the needs of their municipality. A policy inventory was created for this report to document each of these policies and strategies.<sup>56</sup> In order to best organize each anti-displacement policy and strategy, they have been categorized as being either of physical benefit to the community, of economic benefit to the community, of social/cultural benefit to the community, or of some combination of the three categories.

Overall, the policies and strategies that had the most success and greatest durability were those that were created specifically for the municipality, backed by data, involved the community (where applicable) and enabled community leadership to continue the efforts of municipal strategies, and also provided opportunities for the

development community to be flexible and be able to make decisions within the policy process. The areas where city leadership had worked together with the community and developers in this way had the most creative, specific and impactful policies and strategies.

Additionally, this report found that each area of a city should be treated uniquely, with its own set of challenges and opportunities, and that few policies and strategies should be used as a method of treating the city as a whole. Different areas of a city are likely to experience different types of displacement and in different ways. The cities that were most successful in their displacement policies and strategies were those that used a variety of factors to track displacement and worked together with local resources (Non-profit organizations, universities, community organizations, etc.) to put prescriptive policies and strategies in place. Tracking key factors and using data is critical to understanding the underlying forces that are contributing to the various types of displacement across a community.

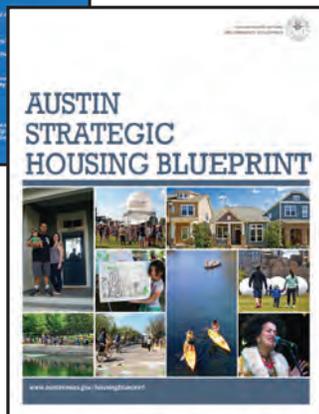


# Austin

The City of Austin, Texas was chosen as a special case study for this report in order to better understand how other cities are addressing displacement and gentrification. The City of Austin was specifically chosen based on its geographical similarities to the City of Tucson. The process of assessing the City of Austin included trying to identify why displacement and gentrification occur, identifying what the city has done to combat displacement and gentrification, and what policies and regulations have been adopted by the City of Austin to mitigate displacement and gentrification.



Figure 25 & 26: Austin Case Studies; Austin Uprooted Project (left) and Austin Housing and Development. Source: City of Austin.



## History

The City of Austin has a history of segregating minorities through adopted policies. Specifically, the marginalized communities of Hispanic and African-American populations were segregated into what is known as the Eastern Crescent. The Eastern Crescent's prominence as a minority district was formulated out of the 1928 Master Plan which designated the area as a 'negro district'. Mainly through property seizures, the city then pressured African-Americans in other portions of the city to relocate to the Eastern Crescent. The Eastern Crescent area, arguably, has experienced the greatest effects of displacement and gentrification.

## Current Situation

The main contributing factors of gentrification and displacement include an influx of new technology jobs, a desire to live in inner-city neighborhoods within walking distance of destinations, and the presence and availability of affordable, historical housing units within historical neighborhoods. Unfortunately, the market demand for these units is making it harder for established residents to be able to afford their homes within these neighborhoods. The City of Austin is currently one of the fastest growing cities in the country, largely due to its attractive climate and the amount of jobs that are available. However, with its growth, the city is the only top-10 fastest growing major city to be reporting losses in

its African-American population. The decline in these marginalized groups and long-term residents in inner-city neighborhoods is due to the increasing demand within the housing market. Rental rates were reported to have a steep incline of 50% between 2004 and 2013. Furthermore, the average home price yielded an increase of three-fold, from a modest \$125,000 to \$375,000. As reported within the Uprooted Report, 16 neighborhoods are actively or at a late stage in regard to gentrification, and a further 23 neighborhoods are designated as 'susceptible' to gentrification.<sup>57</sup> Another report, the Austin and the State of Low- and Middle-Income Housing research report, stated that rental cost burdens, or households paying 30% or more of their income on housing costs, have increased from 41% to 48% between 2000 and 2015.<sup>58</sup>

## The City's Response

The City of Austin has recognized the presence and effects of gentrification within its neighborhoods and has responded with a number of different policies, task forces, and research reports. The vulnerability of the Austinites within these identified neighborhoods, including housing security, is a strong concern for Austin's leadership and community representatives.

## Policies

The City of Austin has a database that contains an identified 541 recommendations

and resolutions issued between 2000 and August 2017 that are related to displacement and gentrification. The Office of the City Auditor presented a special report that was released in January of 2018 that found:

1. Of the 541 recommendations and resolutions, 133 have a “direct effect on displacement and gentrification and are actionable”;
2. 56 of these 133 identified recommendations and resolutions are presumed to have been implemented and/or reported as implemented.

Policies adopted by the city include the City of Austin Housing Trust Fund adopted in 1999, the general obligation bond amounting to \$55 million dollars approved by voters in 2006, and a density bonus program allowing additional entitlements such as a higher allowed maximum height for buildings and more units allowed that permitted by the underlying zoning.

### Task Forces

The City of Austin has instituted several task forces aimed at understanding, mitigating, and identifying solutions towards the problems associated with displacement and gentrification. These task forces include:

- *Gentrification Implications of Historic Zoning in East Austin Task Force*
- *Gentrification Committee*

- *Low-Income Consumer Advisory Task Force*
  - *Staff Task Force on Gentrification in East Austin*
- Furthermore, reports have been developed by task forces, which include:
- *Mayor’s Task Force on Institutional Racism and Systemic Inequalities Report*
  - *Affordable Housing Incentives Task Force Report*

### Reports

The City of Austin, its leadership, community representatives, partners, institutions, and other entities existing within the area have developed multiple reports related to Austin’s displacement and gentrification. Such reports include the Austin Strategic Housing Blueprint, the City of Austin Office of the City Auditor’s special report: *City Efforts to Address Displacement and Gentrification, Uprooted: Residential Displacement in Austin’s Gentrifying Neighborhoods and What Can Be Done About It*, and the *Austin and the State of Low- and Middle-Income Housing: Strategies to Preserve Affordability and Opportunities for the Future* research report. Supplementary documents in addition to reports include Task Force reports and recommendations developed for the community and City Council.

### Conclusion

The main finding of this case study analysis

was that Tucson needs to be specific in how it addresses displacement across the city, and that the city should understand that each policy and strategy will have intended and unintended consequences throughout the city. When creating displacement policy and strategies, city leadership needs to understand that displacement can happen on various levels and should create policies and strategies that are targeted to a specific type of displacement. Displacement policies and strategies should be well thought-out and should have the mechanisms in place to give them flexibility and durability. Further, it is crucial that city leadership works together with community residents and the development community in order to understand how residents view displacement within their own communities and to provide the opportunity for developers to help shape policies and strategies so as to build a relationship of trust and investment.

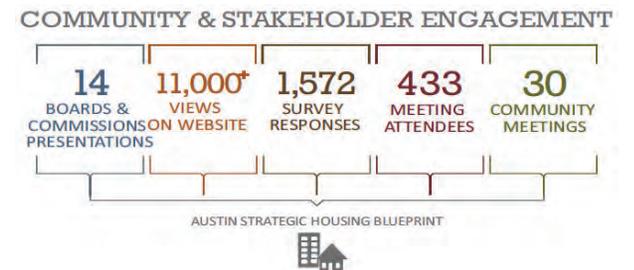


Figure 27: Breakdown of Community & Stakeholder Engagement Source: Austin Strategic Housing Blueprint

## Portland

Like the City of Austin, the City of Portland, Oregon was selected as a primary city of study to understand different avenues for policies and other actions to address gentrification and displacement. Portland was selected for a more in depth review because the city has put forward progressive policies against displacement and has extensive experience with dealing with all of the issues that come along with gentrification. The process of assessing the City of Portland included many of the same reasons as assessing the City of Austin. These reasons include but are not limited to:

- The reason for displacement and gentrification in cities
- Actions, policies, and regulations undertaken at the city level to prevent displacement

### History

Like a majority of communities across the United States, the City of Portland has had a history of racist policies and planning actions that harmed communities of color. These policies and action harmed communities of color "...by excluding them from homeownership and wealth-building opportunities; denying them access to educational resources, jobs, and health neighborhoods; and perpetuating segregation, displacement, and harmful stereotypes through the zoning code,

deeds and covenants, lending practices, public housing, and urban renewal."<sup>59</sup> In Portland, the historically black community Albina had a historic and systemic period of community disinvestment from the 1940s to the early 2000s. Without any path to accessing capital, poor housing conditions, high unemployment, poor schooling in Albina got to the point where many of the neighborhood's black residents abandoned it.<sup>60</sup> It was only in the 1990s and early 2000s where "...renewed access to capital and neighborhood reinvestment resulted in gentrification, displacement, and racial transition."<sup>61</sup> The City of Portland has made it a priority to address the failures in the past in order to plan for the future and meet current

housing needs.

### Current Situation

Many of Portland's lower income and minority residents have felt the pressure of displacement or have been displaced because of Portland's past policies and it has created the problem the city faces today. The problems that the city's most vulnerable communities face with gentrification and displacement are multifaceted. "Housing costs are increasing, and new housing production has not kept pace with population growth or provided housing for families across different income levels."<sup>62</sup> But aside from housing, many of the historic minority neighborhoods are all but gone



Figure 28: Portland, Oregon. Source: Shutterstock

Figure 29: Albina Neighborhood, 1962. Photo Credit: John Doyle



and all social cohesion that once was, is now gone. Many of the remaining low-income households and individuals have been pushed to the outskirt neighborhoods of Portland's boundary where "...the sidewalks, grocery stores and parks grow sparse, and access to public transit is limited".<sup>63</sup> As the neighborhoods in Portland get new amenities and access, those who need it the most do not get to enjoy them. Key findings from the City of Portland's 2018 Gentrification and Displacement Neighborhood Typology Assessment include:

- *The city has almost 34,000 households at risk of being displaced.*
- *East Portland is at the most risk for displacement because of a large group of low-income cost-burdened renter households and house costs have risen the fastest since 2008.*
- *Historically minority neighborhoods have almost completely lost their minority populations and home values have risen dramatically since 2010.*

The City of Portland has set many goals to increase equity overall and to better evaluate and manage potential gentrification impacts on all new policies and programs going forward. This approach is being done because of the present risk of displacement, to mitigate future displacement, and to help those who have already been displaced. The

following sections describe what the city has done in response to these issues.

### **Policies and Plans**

One of the newer initiatives by the city is the Housing Opportunity Initiative. The Housing Opportunity Initiative was created to respond to growth and change while mitigating displacement and maintaining vibrant communities. There are three parts of the Housing Opportunity Initiative and they include: the Anti-Displacement Action Plan, the Better Housing by Design Project, and the Residential Infill Project. The Anti-Displacement Action Plan will create a community-led task force to "... provide leadership on the implementation of anti-displacement policies."<sup>64</sup> Building on the work of community organizations, the hope is to create a toolkit of strategies and accountability measures to get to the root causes of displacement. A formal agreement will be made between community partners and the City to make sure the City strives and achieves positive results and is held accountable. The Better Housing By Design Project is to ensure new multi-family construction will "...provide more comfortable, healthy, and family-friendly units with diverse housing options, safe and attractive outdoor spaces, and better pedestrian connections to neighbors and streets."<sup>65</sup> This project will also provide an affordable housing bonus to incentivize increased housing for lower-income

households. The last part of the Housing Opportunity Initiative is the Residential Infill Project which has been amended to "...deliver even more small-scale, less expensive housing in Portland's single-family neighborhoods."<sup>66</sup>

Other policies Portland has put in place recently include: a right to return program that gives down payment assistance to first-time homeowners who were displaced, or are at risk of displacement<sup>67</sup>; legalizing Accessory Dwelling Units to allow for more choice in housing types for different income levels; and, incentivizing developers to develop more affordable housing around areas for new public transit.

**Better designed and healthier multifamily housing: Let's zone for it!**

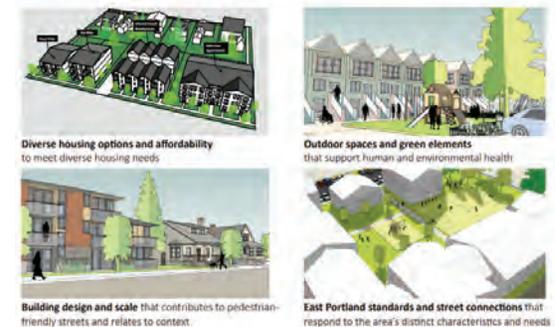


Figure 30: Increasing density through zoning. Source: Portland Neighbors Welcome.

### **Reports**

The City of Portland, community partners, institutions, and other entities have come together to create multiple reports related to

Portland's experience with gentrification and displacement. These reports include:

- Historical Context of Racist Planning: A History of How Planning Segregated Portland
- 2013 Gentrification and Displacement Study
- 2012 Vulnerability Analysis
- 2018 Gentrification and Displacement Neighborhood Typology Assessment
- Equitable Development Without Displacement: Implementing Portland's Anti-Displacement Commitments
- SW Corridor Equitable Housing Strategy

These are just a sample of some of the reports that have been done over the past decade. The 2018 Gentrification and Displacement Neighborhood Typology Assessment is built off the previous 2013 report as an update and re-evaluation. Also important to mention, although not specifically about gentrification and displacement, Portland's comprehensive plan, Portland Plan, made a point for increased equity for all goals, initiatives, and policies. This focus on all of the City's overall plan for the future can help combat community disinvestment and other issues that perpetuate displacement.

### **Conclusion**

The main finding of the case study analysis shows that the City of Tucson needs to find policies and strategies that specifically target

areas that are most at risk for displacement. Each community has different wants and needs and any action that the city decides to take should be flexible enough so that it fits different communities in need. The city should also consider including community stakeholders in policies and decision-making as much and as soon as possible. Those who know their community the best are usually those who are living there and have been living there for a long time and have seen the positive and negative changes around them. By allowing more community input, the city can start to form trust with communities that have been wronged in the past. Finally, in order to change and adapt for the future, past policies and actions that have negatively affected certain communities should be addressed.



# MAPPING ANALYSIS

## GIS Analysis: Mapping Displacement

The mapping process created an index that displays gentrification and displacement susceptibility through two phases of research. These were, 1) identifying vulnerable populations and measuring risk of displacement and 2) determining where displacement is taking place. Both of these phases were framed by and compared with literature and theoretical definitions of gentrification and displacement. The first phase was to collect data on various demographics and population distributions throughout Tucson. The group then selected datasets that were most applicable to and representative of the theories and literature on gentrification. This gave us an idea of population vulnerability. The second phase of this research collected and looked at housing, renter, and occupancy data alongside the vulnerability data. This phase involved the creation of an index to determine the overall score of how at-risk an area is to displacement and gentrification.

### Data Limitations

In gathering quantitative data to use for the mapping of the vulnerability, displacement and the displacement indexes, American Community Survey data from the US Census Bureau was the primary data source used. The use of ACS data presents a series of challenges and limitations in the analysis process, including large margin of error and estimated change by year. For detailed descriptions on the data collection, and data limitations see Appendix 2. Despite these challenges, ACS data is a reliable, publicly available data source which can be used to perform analysis such as mapping displacement.





## Phase One

### MAPPING VULNERABILITY: Data Collection and Initial Mapping of At-Risk Areas:

Gentrification is a discursive topic that is difficult to display or present deterministic findings based on numbers alone. This portion of the project attempts to bring theory and data together in order to illustrate where at-risk areas in Tucson are. Social equity and gentrification have increasingly become a social justice issue within city planning strategies. Neighborhoods that have issues with gentrification also tend to be lower in many socio-economic factors like age, income and education level, and this occurrence is disproportionately in neighborhoods that are not white.<sup>68</sup> This section illustrates the initial findings in the team's datasets.

This study utilized GIS map analysis of the following variables for the neighborhoods that are vulnerable to gentrification: age, low income, ethnicity, education, and occupancy type. Each socio-economic variable was normalized on a scale from 0 to 1. The normalized variables were mapped separately and then all shapefiles were spatially joined. The final combined dataset was exported into a tabular format and then analyzed to identify the neighborhoods that

are vulnerable to gentrification in the City of Tucson. Demographic data was obtained from the 2017 American Community Survey and analyzed at the level of Census Block Group.

For vulnerability, we considered four factors:

- People of Color: Percentage of people in the block group who identify as anything other than White Non-Hispanic alone.
- Child & Senior Poverty: Percentage of children (i.e., people under the age of 18) and Seniors (i.e., people greater the age of 65) in the tract who are living below the poverty line.
- Lack of College Education: Percentage of adults ages 25 and up in the tract who lack a four-year college degree or higher level of education.
- Renters: Percentage of households within the tract who rent.

\*Note that for all four variables, a higher (more positive) number equates to a higher level of vulnerability in the area.

According to the literature on gentrification there is a high likelihood of correlation between ethnic minority neighborhoods and a high risk of gentrification. We therefore analyzed the distribution of Tucson's population in terms of minority groups.<sup>69</sup>

Figure 31: Percentage of Minorities, Tucson, American Community Survey, 2017

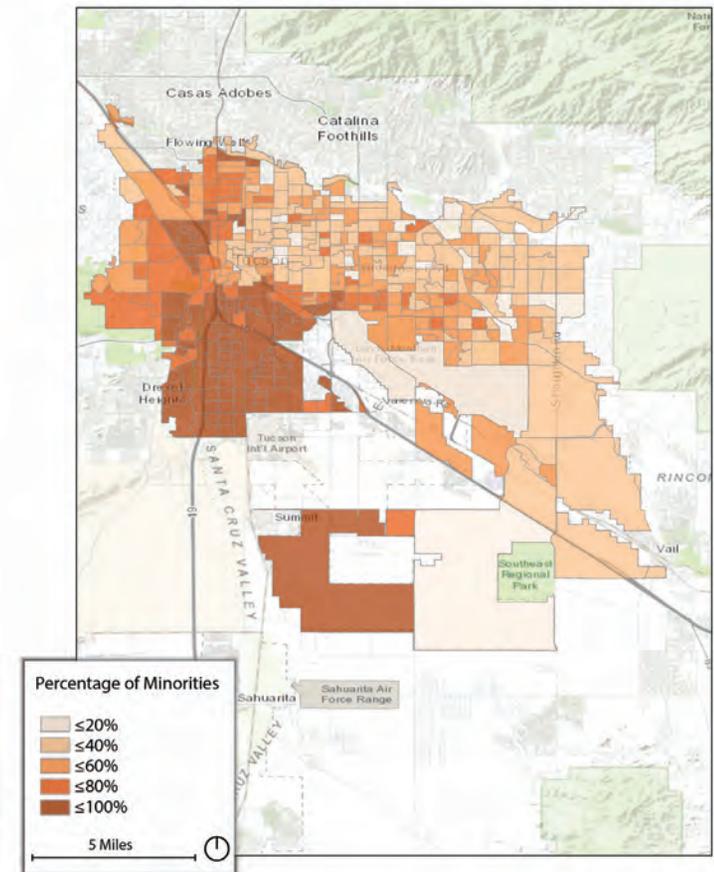
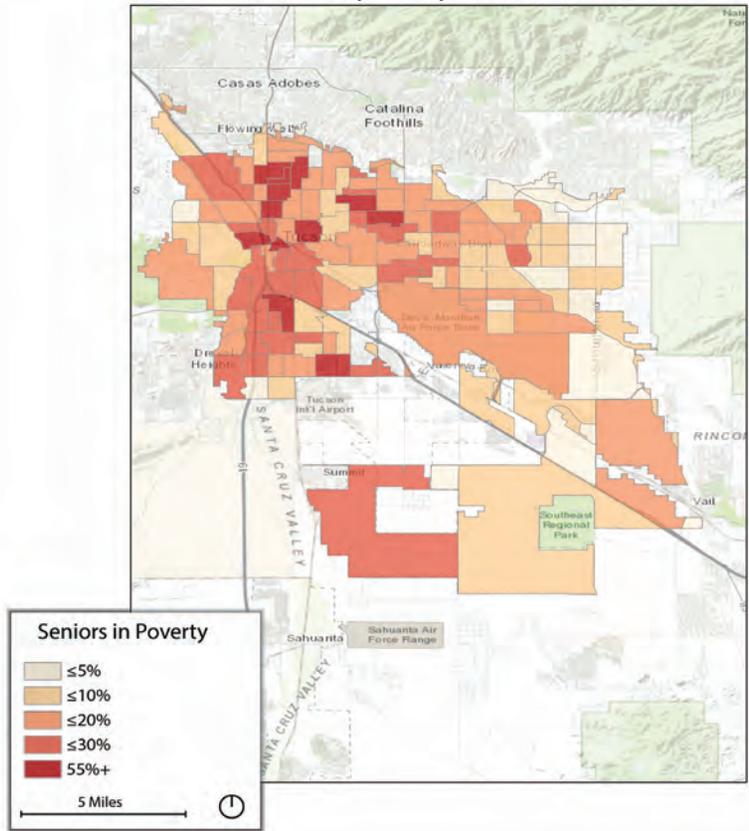


Figure 32: Percentage of Seniors in Poverty, Tucson, American Community Survey, 2017



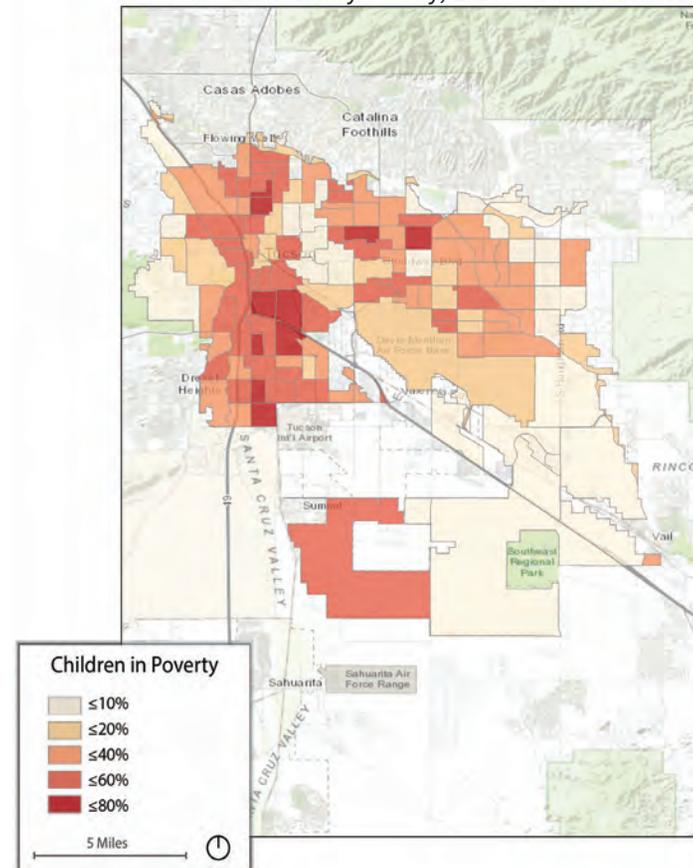
As Figure 31 shows, the higher concentrations of minority populations occur in the southern regions of the city.

In the studies of Petrovic (2008) and Desmond (2013), vulnerable populations include the very young and the very old residents in poverty, which we have been defined as younger than 18 and older than 65.<sup>70 71</sup> The reason for this classification is that children lack autonomy, have limited physical mobility, and tend to be more exposed to poor physical and environmental

conditions. Similarly, older adults have lower levels of mobility, and often numerous medical conditions which makes them inherently more susceptible to negative physical factors. The analysis in Figures 32 and 33 shows that the higher concentrations of vulnerable populations tend to occur in the northern part of the city, with the lowest concentrations in the center of the city.

The impact of gentrification is more severe among populations with less education. For example, people who have less than

Figure 33: Percentage of Children in Poverty, Tucson, American Community Survey, 2017



a college education are more likely to be susceptible to displacement than those who hold a college degree.<sup>72</sup> In Figure 34, compared with the spatial distribution of the previous two factors, the distribution of the population lacking higher education is concentrated from north to south.

Additionally, renters are vulnerable to housing instability, especially those who

are in poverty. In general, this group tends to move and change residency more often than homeowners, and they may be forced to move due to rental price increase or demolition of the building.<sup>73</sup> Similar to the poverty by age and lacking education rate, the areas with higher percentage of rental households are concentrated in the center and northern part of the city (Figure 35).

After combining the above four factors, we have drawn a map of the distribution of vulnerability in Tucson. From this map, the areas with high vulnerability are mainly concentrated in the Oracle corridor, downtown and South Tucson. In East Tucson, areas with high vulnerability are scattered (Figure 36).

Figure 34: Percentage of People without College Degrees, Tucson, American Community Survey, 2017

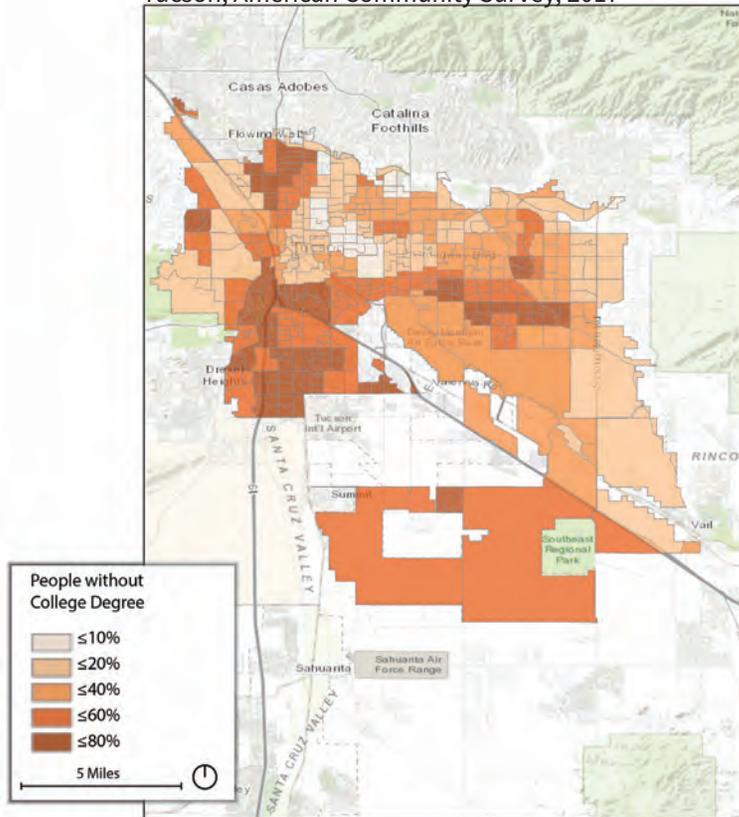


Figure 35: Percentage of Renters, Tucson, American Community Survey, 2017

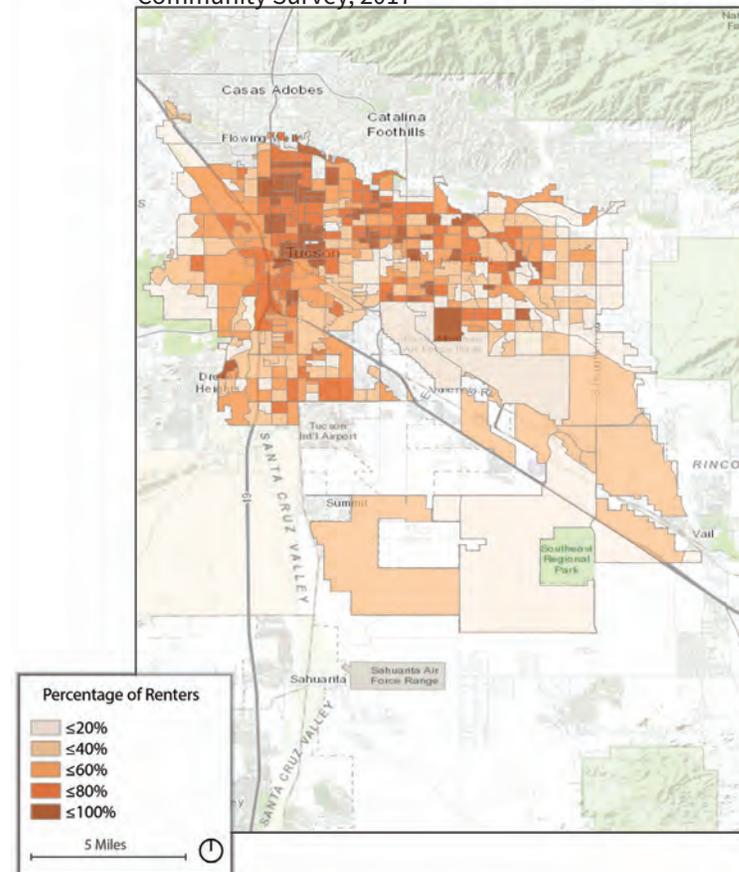
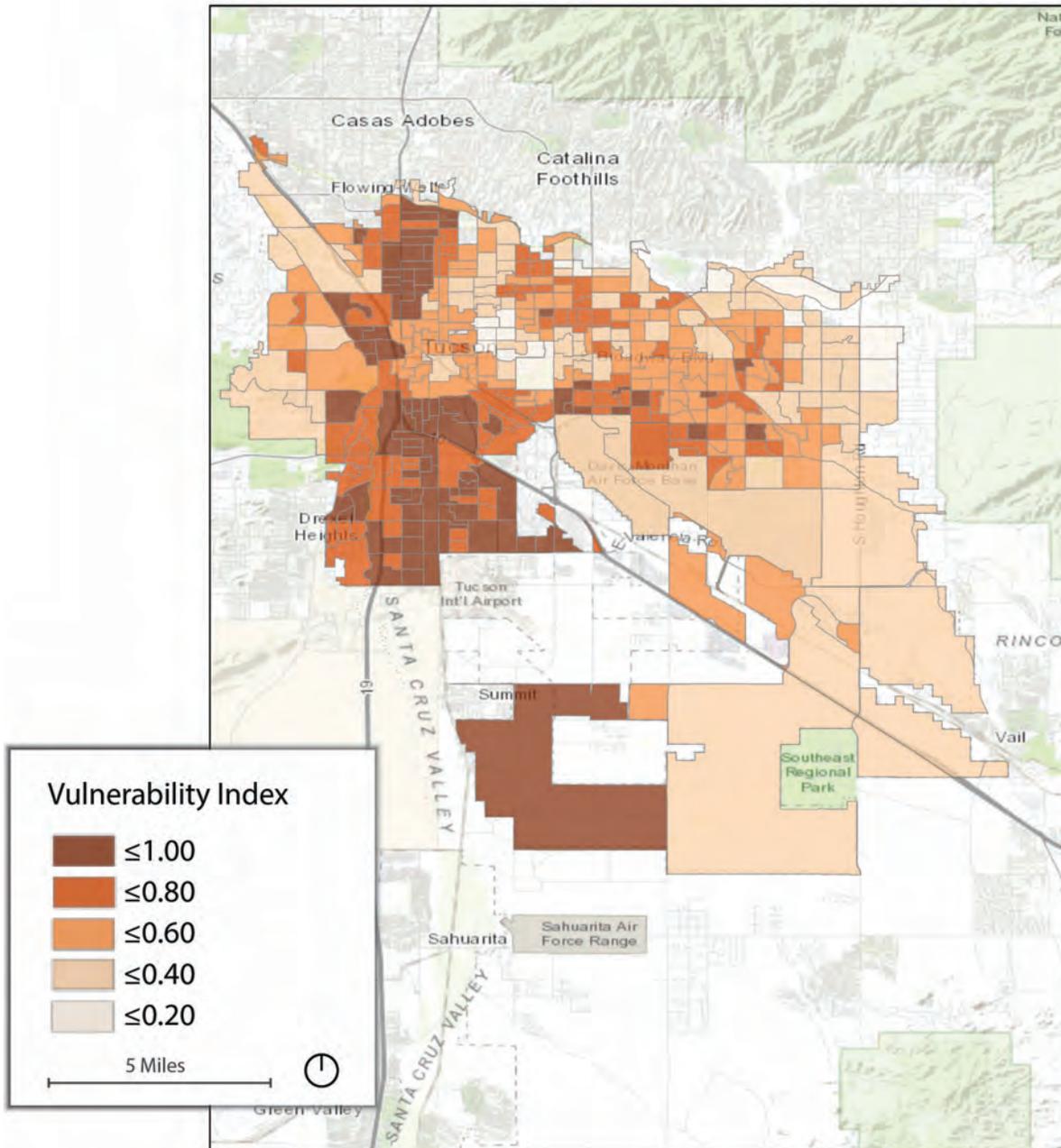


Figure 36 : Vulnerability, Tucson, American Community Survey, 2017



## Phase Two

### MAPPING INDICATORS OF DISPLACEMENT: Combining datasets to assess risk

Indicators of displacement may be more immaterial than vulnerability, as change occurs subtly and increasingly adds pressure to a community. Some well-established indicators of displacement are an increase in college-educated populations moving in, an increase in median income, an increase in rent price and home values, and an overall loss in racial and ethnic residents. All of this is to say, “Gentrification involves the racial and economic transformation of low-income neighborhoods.”<sup>74</sup> This necessitates a mapping methodology that is informed by Marcuse’s commonly utilized definition of gentrification. The methodology will use the following criteria to identify areas that are seeing a coalescence of indicators working against low income communities and communities of color:

After creating an initial map, there were areas of the city that registered as concerning based on the above criteria, but may not necessarily be at risk for displacement or gentrification pressures. Using Marcuse’s definition of gentrification, the team selected criteria from the American Community Survey that would be the most accurate and representative of issues contributing to gentrification.

Figure 37: Risk Displacement Index and Scoring Methodology

RISK RANK	1 LOW RISK	2 MEDIUM RISK	3 HIGH RISK	DIRECTION OF DATASET
RENT INCREASE	> 10%	10% - 15%	< 15%	+ higher value
PERCENT RENTER	> 30%	> 40%	< 40%	+ higher value
RACIAL/ETHNIC DECREASE	> -5%	[-5%] - [-10%]	< -10%	- lower value
INCREASE IN COLLEGE DEGREE HOLDERS	> 10%	10% - 15%	< 15%	+ higher value
INCREASE IN INCOME	>10%	10% - 20%	< 20%	+ higher value

Figure 38: Omission of Areas from the Index Methodology

Consider Removing Area From Map Based On:	Omit From Map If:
Percentage of Renters is Low	Less than 30% Renters
People of Color is Low	Less than 20% Non-White
Low Income Households is Low	Lower than City-Wide Median
Children in Poverty are Low	Lower than City-Wide Median
College Degree Attainment is High	Less than 40% Without College Degree
Housing Age is Old	Median Age is Earlier than 1976

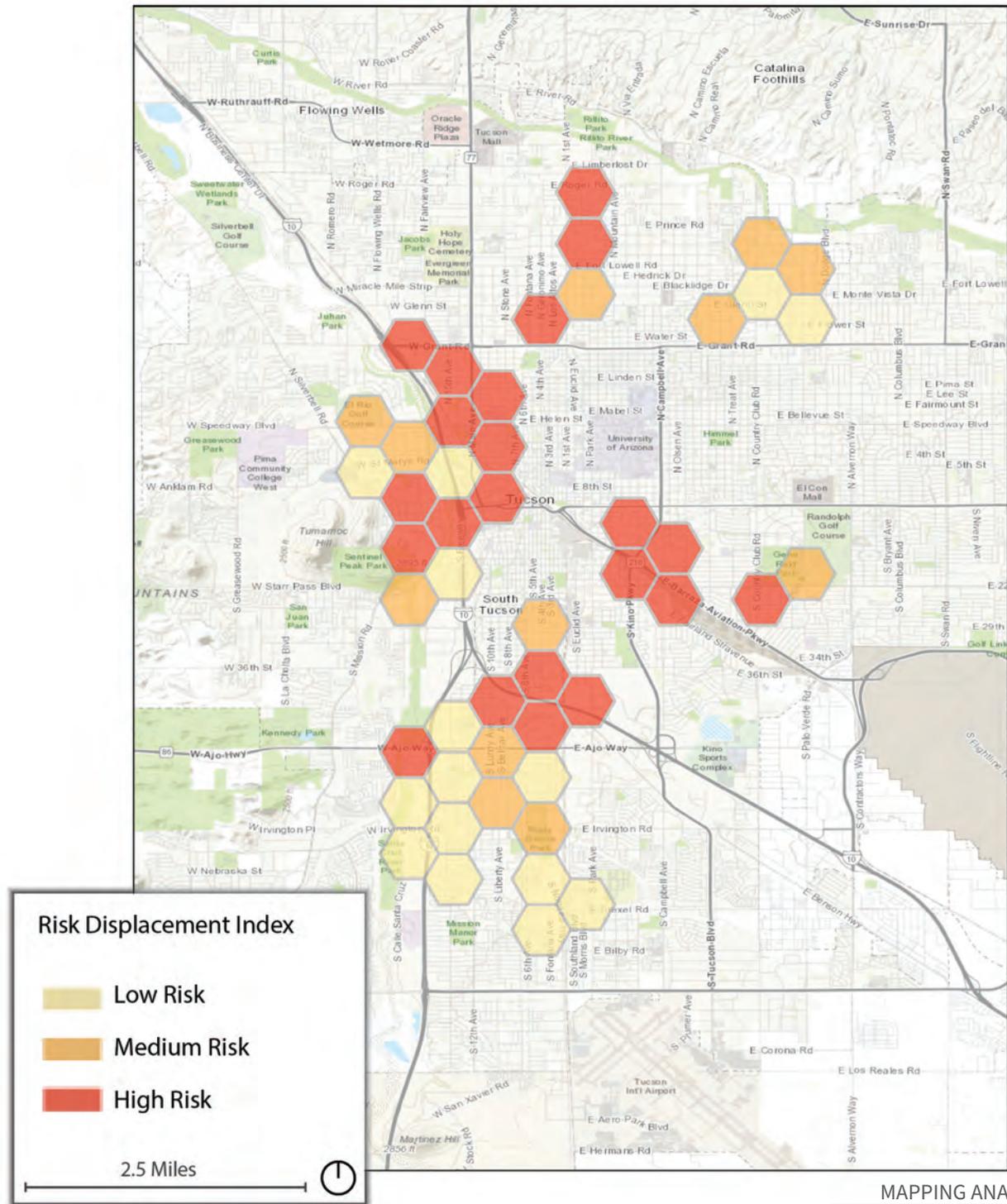
Further exclusion from the index was decided by other criteria that would indicate an area is not likely experiencing gentrification or displacement. For example, high percentages of populations with college degrees are typically more resilient to displacement pressures. We therefore, incorporated a new selection of criteria to exclude areas that did not have concentrations of vulnerable populations. Areas on the map were then omitted from the final map based on further criteria:

After implementing these criteria, the remaining selected areas had high concentrations of vulnerable populations and were also places experiencing the changes which might lead to displacement. The areas that remained in the map were considered at-risk for displacement/ gentrification. Still, displacement and gentrification indicators also coincide with other prominent indicators of general distress in an area. For this reason, only areas in proximity to downtown and with easy access to amenities were kept.

The remaining areas were all tallied based on their risk rank for each respective criterion. The lowest score any area could receive would be a 1 (Low Risk for Gentrification and Displacement) and the highest tally any area could receive would be a 15 (High Risk for Gentrification and displacement). Any area on the map scoring 1-8 on the tally would

Figure 39: Risk Displacement Index, Tucson, American Community Survey, 2017

be considered at low risk for displacement. Any area on the map scoring from 8-10 on the map would be considered at medium risk for displacement. Finally, any area exceeding a value of 10 on the tally would be considered at a higher risk for gentrification. The final map considered the recurring indicators of gentrification and displacement in the literature, while also using Marcuse's definition as a guiding light throughout the data collection and selection process. The final map is a "risk displacement index," which means the tallying of different criteria is put together to illustrate the extent to which an area might be susceptible to or is already experiencing displacement or gentrification. The map below illustrates the finalized index.



# DRILLDOWNS

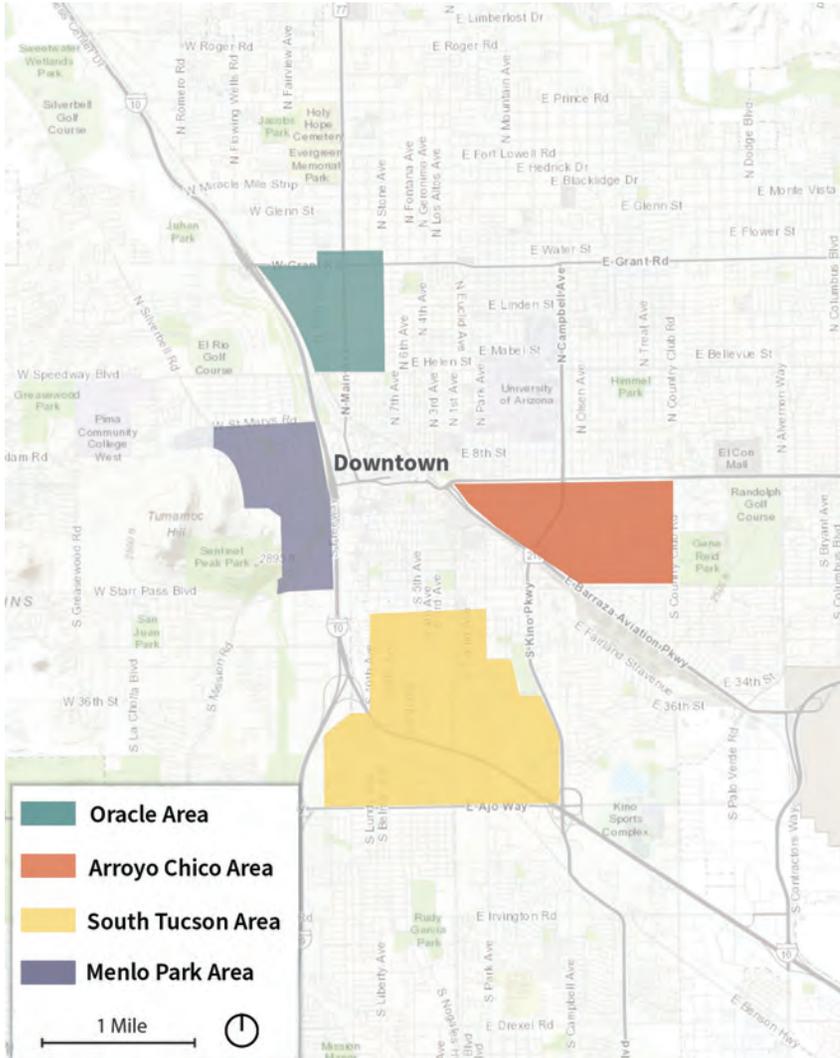


Figure 40: Neighborhood Drill Down Areas

Based on the areas identified as at risk of displacement in GIS analysis, this report has singled out four locations for further analysis where residents are at high risk of displacement. These locations are the Oracle Area Corridor, South Tucson and surrounding neighborhoods, west-side Menlo Park area neighborhoods and the Arroyo Chico area just south of Broadway Blvd. By doing an in depth analysis of these areas, this report hopes to demonstrate a variety of displacement related challenges within the city and stress the importance of neighborhood-specific policy creation.





# North Oracle Corridor

FIG 40.1: North Oracle Area



The North Oracle Corridor (shown in figure 40.1) has been selected as a drill down location due to its redevelopment potential, and high risk of residential and commercial displacement. Over the last 15 years, there have been multiple planning efforts in this area, with the focus of economic revitalization and decreased crime rates. These efforts are designed to address a number of challenges faced by area residents, including high levels of poverty, crime and a lack of local amenities and resources. This area is currently included in the City of Tucson’s plans for high capacity transit, such as a streetcar extension of bus rapid transit line, which has the potential to make it significantly more attractive to new investment. However, based on our analysis revitalization efforts could easily be accompanied with large scale displacement. Therefore, it is vital that planning efforts are community-based and include investments in affordable housing, neighborhood stabilization, and access to essential services.

## Neighborhood History

This drill down is focused on the section of the North Oracle Corridor bounded by Grant Rd., Speedway Blvd., Fairview Ave. and Stone Ave. This location is home to four different city recognized neighborhoods: Barrio Blue Moon, San Ignacio Yaqui, Adelanto, and Ocotillo Oracle. There are also sections of the area that lie outside any official neighborhood boundaries. These neighborhoods are historically united by the development of the “Miracle Mile” corridor. This area was considered the “Gateway of Tucson” before the construction of Interstate 10, as it was situated along the main highway between Phoenix and Tucson. As a result, the area is home to a number of historic Route 66 era motels and other automobile-oriented businesses. The decline of the prosperous Oracle area began in the 1970’s with the oil crisis and a decrease in automotive leisure travel. Many of its iconic motels closed but those that remained open became known for hosting prostitution and drug use.<sup>75</sup> There has been minimal investment in the area since the late 1980’s. While crime rates in the area have decreased significantly in recent years, these historic motels continue to serve as an important part of Tucson’s stock of naturally occurring affordable housing. The area has received significant attention for its historical buildings and convenient location near downtown in recent years.

The neighborhoods present in this area have distinctive histories, and combined

they represent a highly diverse population. The two most notable neighborhoods of the area are Barrio Blue Moon and San Ignacio Yaqui. These neighborhoods not only are home to high concentrations of vulnerable populations, but they also possess multiple historical assets and important cultural traditions. This should be noted because the presence of these assets could increase desirability of the areas if there was a significant infrastructure investment.



Figure 41: Blue Moon Ballroom, 1941 Source: Arizona Daily Star 2011

### Barrio Blue Moon

Barrio Blue Moon is named after the Blue Moon Ballroom (burned down in 1947), which hosted many talented performers in the early 20th century such as Billy Eckstein, Tommy Dorsey, and Ella Fitzgerald. The

neighborhood once contained a substantial historical housing stock, with homes dating to the 1920’s. Many of these structures have been demolished in recent years, making room for newer units. Currently the neighborhood primarily contains homes from the 1940’s through the present, and has also seen a significant amount of recent market-rate investment, including new construction.<sup>76</sup> A number of light industrial businesses are located along the neighborhood’s western and northern edges, and N. Main Ave. is home to several gem and mineral wholesalers which bring significant traffic to the area during the annual Tucson Gem and Mineral Show.<sup>77</sup> Neighborhood assets include an active neighborhood association, the Blue Moon Community Garden, and Francisco Elias Esquer Park. The Neighborhood has received both funding and attention in recent years with the creation of the Oracle Area Revitalization Plan (OARP)<sup>78</sup> and Thrive in the 05<sup>79</sup>; both of which have worked to obtain community support by engaging with the Barrio Blue Moon Neighborhood Association. Since the 1990s, the neighborhood association has also worked with the city to reduce crime, improve Esquer Park and neighborhood streets, establish a tool-lending library, and build a community garden.<sup>80</sup>

Tucson House, built in 1963, is a major local landmark located along Oracle Road along the northern border of Barrio Blue

Moon. The 17 story structure is the tallest residential building in the Tucson region and was originally built as luxury housing. It was purchased by the City of Tucson in 1976 with federal funding, and now provides 408 units of public housing for low-income elderly and disabled residents.



Figure 42: Tucson House & the Blue Moon Community Garden. Source: geography.arizona.edu

### San Ignacio Yaqui and the Pascua Yaqui Tribe

San Ignacio Yaqui is an often overlooked historical neighborhood located to the north of Barrio Blue Moon. This neighborhood was the location of “Old Pascua”, a Pascua Yaqui community through the 1940’s. The Pascua Yaqui are a federally-recognized Indian tribe who settled in the Tucson region after being persecuted and deported from Sonora by the Mexican Government in the early 20th century.<sup>81</sup> The tribe continues to

have strong cross-border connections - there are approximately 70,000 Yaquis in Sonora and 8400 within Pima County. While most local tribal members have since relocated to New Pascua, the tribe’s reservation on Tucson’s southwest side, approximately 500 members still reside in the neighborhood and it remains the location of their spring ceremonial grounds, tribal museum, and community gathering center.<sup>82</sup> This area is considered a cultural asset, not only the neighborhood, but by the other communities of Yaqui people around the city.



Figure 43: Old Pascua 1938 Source: “Through our Parents Eyes” 2020

This neighborhood currently experiences high rates of poverty. While there are community building and planning initiatives within the Pascua Yaqui community, this neighborhood does not have an active neighborhood association. Further, there has been minimal revitalization effort or infrastructure investment put toward this

community.

### Demographic and spatial data

The Oracle Area has high rates of poverty, high percentages of people of color and low education levels. (see table x). The median household income for the area is over 50% lower than the city average. Still, in the last decade there has been a 5.3% increase in the area’s median household income, aligning with the overall city growth.

	NORTH DRILLDOWN	CITY AVERAGE
CHANGE IN COLLEGE ATTAINMENT	+23.3%	+5.6%
CHANGE IN MEDIAN RENTS	+15.3%	+16.1%
CHANGE IN MEDIAN INCOME	+5.0%	+7.0%

Figure 44: Census Demographic Information in Oracle Area Block Groups. Source: 2017 & 2018 ACS estimates.

### Automobile Access

The Oracle area has the highest rate of households without an automobile in the state of Arizona. 48.78% of area households do not have access to an automobile, as compared to 12.33% of households citywide.

<sup>83</sup>

### Housing stock

The Oracle area’s housing stock is a combination of apartments and single-family

homes. Housing stock is mostly older than the city-wide average, with many structures dating to the 1950's. The OARP and Thrive in the 05 both identified the need for housing rehabilitation for many of these aging units. This has been slowly happening over the last decade, with 16 different rehabilitation projects within the area. Of these, two of these projects attained individual historic designation for the structures. The area features a high percentage of renters compared to the city as a whole and a high occupancy rate, with relatively few vacant units.

	NORTH DRILLDOWN	CITY AVERAGE
RENTER OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS	76.7%	45.8%
RESIDENTS OF COLOR	74.1%	51.9%
COLLEGE ATTAINMENT	38.1%	42.6%
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES	9.6%	5.7%
LACK ACCESS TO CAR	48.8%	12.3%

Figure 45: Census Demographic Information in Oracle Area Block Groups. Source: 2017 & 2018 ACS estimates.

Over the past decade, area rents have increased at a significantly higher rate than the median income. While the area still remains relatively affordable with

housing values lower than many of the neighborhoods with access to downtown, further increases in rent may put it out of the reach of many low-income residents. Census data also indicates that 43% of area residents are “cost burdened” and paying more than 30% of their income on rent (see figure x).

Housing Stock	Total
Occupied Housing Units	1,767
Vacant Units	330
<b>Total Number of Housing Units</b>	<b>2,097</b>

Figure 46: Census Housing Unit Information in Oracle Area Block Groups. Source: 2017 ACS estimates.

### Existing Infrastructure & Amenities

The Oracle area has traditionally seen a low level of investment in public amenities.

### Schools

The study area is located within the Tucson Unified School District. Within a mile radius of the area there are very limited school options and only one out of district public school. There was previously an elementary school in the San Ignacio Yaqui neighborhood, however this school closed in 2011 and is now the Pascua Yaqui Community Center. Other school options include two charter high-schools. The neighborhood is, however, home to the

downtown campus of Pima Community College.

Housing Statistics	Totals
Average Household Size	1.9
Households within the Area who Rent	64.4%
Median Gross Rent	\$659
Rent Change 2010-2017	15.3%
Occupancy Rate Change 2010-2017	8%
Residents Paying More than 30% of Income on Rent	43.7%

Figure 47: Census Demographic and Housing Unit Information in Oracle Area Block Groups. Source: 2017 & 2018 ACS estimates.

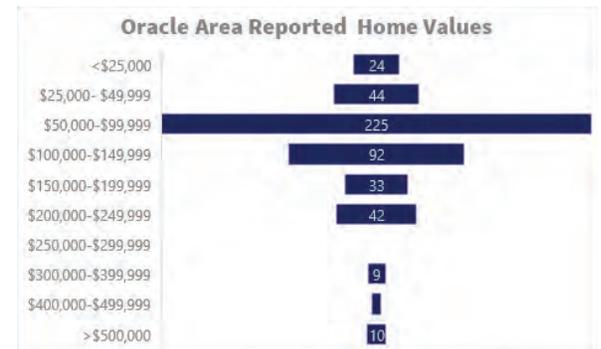


Figure 48: Reported Property Values by Owner-occupied Households in Oracle Area Block Groups. Source: 2017 ACS estimates.

### Bus Lines and Bike Lanes

The area is well-served by existing Sun Tran bus service and contains some bike infrastructure. Bus service is provided by the 10, 16, and 19 bus lines, which run north-



Figure 49: Tucson Inn. Photo credit: Jude Ignacio & Geradine Vargas. Source: Tucson News Now.

south, and the 4, 5 and 9 lines with service running east-west. Route 16 along Oracle Rd. is the second highest ridership route in the Sun Tran system and provides service every ten minutes on weekdays.<sup>84</sup> Routes 4 and 9 also provide frequent weekday service. Existing bike infrastructure in the area includes neighborhood bike routes through Barrio Blue Moon, San Ignacio Yaqui, and Adelanto, and painted bike lanes on all major neighborhood streets. Like many neighborhoods in Tucson, however, the area has limited sidewalk infrastructure primarily concentrated in the southern section of the area and along major roadways. Major streets in the area - especially Oracle Rd. - function as barriers for pedestrians and bicyclists due to their width and high traffic speeds and have high pedestrian-related crash rates.<sup>85</sup>

### **Fresh Food Access**

While the Oracle area is not considered a food desert by the USDA Food Desert Research Atlas, residents do face a number of barriers to accessing healthy food including low rates of vehicle ownership and over a half mile walks to full service supermarkets.<sup>86</sup> The only supermarket located in the area is the Grant-Stone Supermarket, which specializes in Asian foods.

### **Development, Investments and Planning Efforts**

Over the last decade, there have been multiple planning efforts focused on the revitalization of this area. The first of these was the Oracle Area Revitalization Plan, created in 2009 with the goal of addressing a wide range of issues including crime, lack of economic vitality and poverty. This plan also established and recognized the neighborhoods as locations for further future support and attention. These planning efforts have been credited with bringing investment in neighborhood parks, street repairs, and reductions in crime. The Tucson Department of Housing and Community Development has also recently purchased a number of properties in the area. The city now owns 13 properties in the area including Tucson House, both vacant and occupied land. These properties have the potential to be used for affordable housing and development.

Another recent initiative bringing attention to the area is Thrive in the 05, a cooperative effort of the City of Tucson and Arizona State University funded through federal grants. This project's goals include: community-based crime reduction through addressing the drivers of crime, and increasing investment in the neighborhood. Thrive in the 05 has received grant money from HUD to invest in public housing and neighborhood improvements which will "enhance and accelerate the transformation of the neighborhood."<sup>87</sup> This project has been heavily focused on neighborhood-based community engagement and has attempted to build neighborhood cohesion and public trust.

### **Analysis: Equitable TOD Possibilities**

The City of Tucson has recently begun efforts to explore improved transit service in the Oracle area, likely through building a bus rapid transit or streetcar line.<sup>88</sup> Improved transit service could potentially improve mobility for the area's many transit-dependent residents, increasing access to daily needs such as work, shopping, educational facilities and healthcare. Research has shown, however, a tendency for gentrification to follow the construction of rail lines in centrally-located low-income communities, often pricing out those residents most likely to benefit from the new service.<sup>89</sup> However, as a property owner and stakeholder in the area, the City of Tucson

has the opportunity to prevent displacement through preemptive and preventive action.

Existing transit nodes at Oracle and Grant, Stone and Speedway, and Main and Speedway currently contain a number of vacant or underutilized parcels. These intersections present a unique opportunity to build community cohesion and improve walkability and neighborhood image through affordable TOD. The city could encourage this through zoning changes, grants, and/or purchasing vacant properties for development.

### **Case Study: Equitable TOD in the Twin Cities**

One example of equitable transit-oriented development in practice can be seen along the Green Line LRT project in Minnesota. This 11-mile light rail line opened in 2014 and replaced the Twin Cities' busiest bus route linking downtown Minneapolis to the University of Minnesota, the Minnesota State Capitol and downtown St. Paul. Along its path, the line traverses the center of Somali culture in the United States, a Hmong restaurant corridor, an East African business district and a historically Black neighborhood impacted by freeway construction in the 1960s.<sup>90 91</sup> Due in part to community concern regarding rail construction in these communities, the City of St. Paul and the Metropolitan Council (a regional government body which runs the

transit system) placed a focus on equity, affordable housing, and preserving small minority-owned businesses along the project corridor.



Figure 50: A rendering of a TOD project along a future transit line in St. Paul. Source: The Cornerstone Group.

Local philanthropists also contributed to the effort, creating the Central Corridors Funding Collaborative. This group gave 162 grants totaling \$12 million to help secure land for affordable housing, improve public spaces, support small businesses, and provide transit-related jobs to local residents.<sup>92</sup> Through this partnership between non-profits, philanthropists, and local government, 3573 units of affordable housing have been preserved or created, 968 low-income households have received help to remain in their neighborhoods, the Little Mekong Night Market has been

created to showcase Hmong businesses, a neighborhood bike coop and community farm have received additional funding, and a successful model has been developed for supporting minority owned businesses during construction.

While Tucson faces a number of challenges not present in the Twin Cities, the Green Line corridor shows how a dilapidated auto-oriented corridor can be significantly improved through new rail service and extensive TOD without large scale displacement. Specifically, this case study shows the importance of extensive community engagement, supporting local businesses, and investing early in affordable housing as light rail is being planned.

### **Recommendations**

#### **Continue to engage with the community and activate neighborhood groups**

The efforts by Thrive in the 05 and OARP have begun to create a good foundation of general community support and trust. Future planning efforts should build upon this engagement. This is especially essential in the context of a major investment in the corridor such as light rail.

#### **Couple investments in affordable housing with transit investments & economic stimulus**

As a major property owner in the area, the

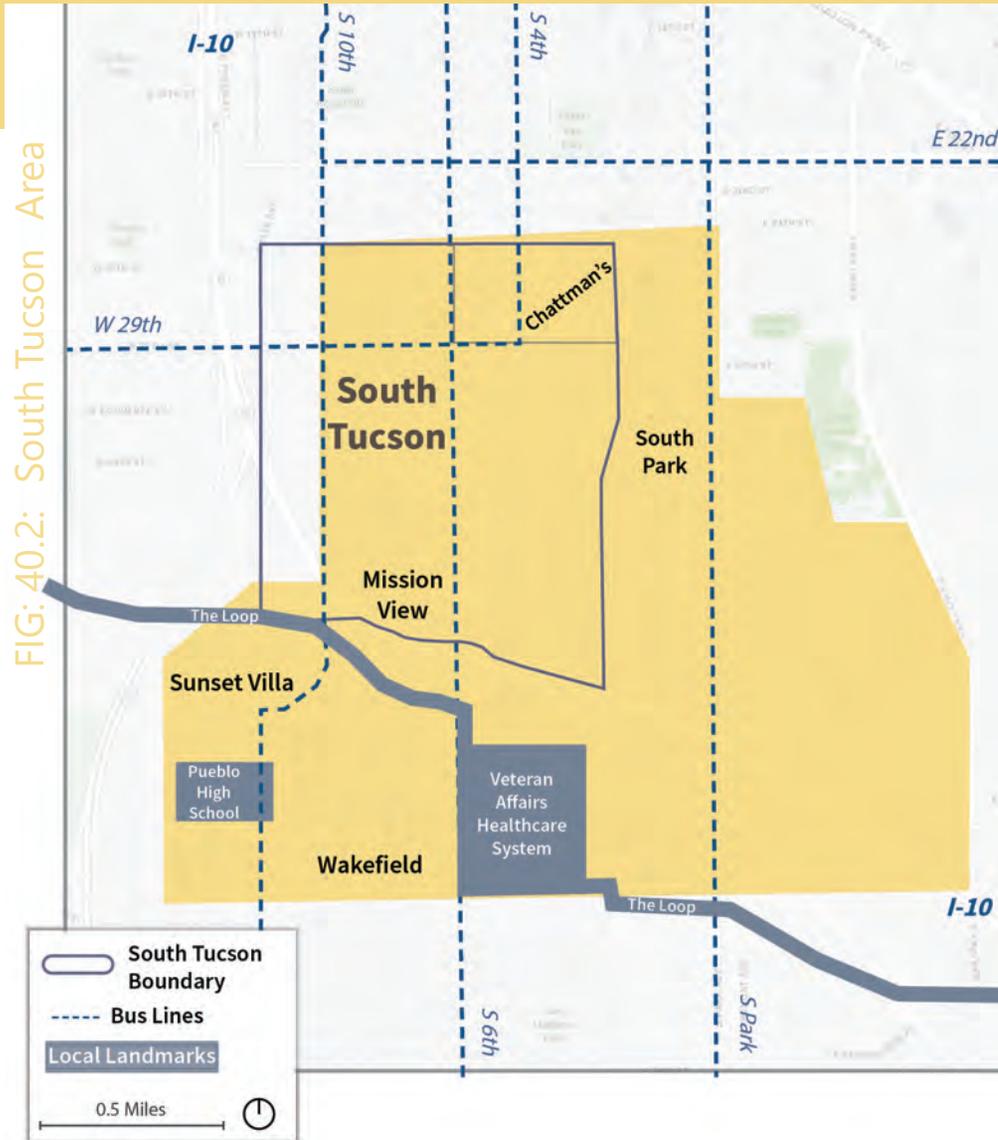
City of Tucson is uniquely positioned to be able to build affordable or mixed income transit-oriented development that could increase the city's affordable housing supply while improving the community for existing residents.<sup>93</sup> City efforts in this area should continue to focus on engaging with local residents and providing services identified by the community as needed including improved affordable housing, better walking and biking facilities, and access to healthy food.

**Create a toolkit for monitoring and measuring equity**

To secure improvements and policies that serve the existing local community, it is recommended that the city create a system to monitor progress and equity. This could come in the form of a scorecard and be utilized periodically in an equity analysis. This will assist in ensuring that improvements are benefiting the community and adjustments can be made to policy more immediately if large scale displacement is occurring.



# City of South Tucson Area



This report has identified the City of South Tucson and the surrounding area as an area of high risk for displacement.<sup>94</sup> This area is bordered by 25th Street on the north, Ajo Way on the south, Kino Parkway on the east and 12th Avenue on the west. The drilldown area comprises all of the City of South Tucson, as well as portions of the Sunset Villa neighborhood to the west, the Wakefield neighborhood to the south, and South Park neighborhood to the west. In order to best understand the displacement that is occurring in this area, this drilldown report includes an inventory of the major amenities and services that are currently available to the area, an analysis of the displacement types that the area is most vulnerable to, and ultimately what policies and strategies are recommended to address displacement within the City of South Tucson Area.

## Neighborhood History and Demographics

Much of the history of this area reflects the early origins of the city of Tucson itself. Tucson as a whole is often called “the Old Pueblo” and seen as an “ancestral home of

the Mexican American people.”<sup>95</sup> The south side of Tucson is heavily steeped in Mexican culture, as is the independent City of South Tucson, which is approximately 84% Latino and refers to itself as a “Pueblo within a City.”<sup>96 97</sup> The City of South Tucson was incorporated by a vote of 52 to 35 in August, 1936, and has struggled with maintaining that status through disincorporation attempts, annexation by the City of Tucson, and near-bankruptcy.<sup>98</sup>



Figure 51: Aerial photo of the newly completed Benson-Nogales Freeway interchange (I-10 & I-19) looking south, c. 1963. Photo source: Fred Wehrman Photography.

Geographically, the City of South Tucson Area is located in what was once the historical U.S. Highway 80 Benson Highway. Previously dubbed as the “Eastern Entrance” to the City of Tucson, the area was populated

with motor inns similar to that within the Miracle Mile Oracle Area on the north side of Downtown Tucson.<sup>99</sup> The vitality of the neighborhood was affected with the introduction of the interstates: I-10 and I-19.



Figures 52 & 53: The El Camino Motel located at 297 Benson Highway, c. 1947. Photo source: Historical Photos of U.S. Highway 80 through Arizona on Vintage Postcards.

These highways and its expansive interchange, constructed in the early 1960’s, sought to replace the Nogales Highway, known infamously as the “Camino de la Muerte” or the “Highway of Death”.<sup>100</sup> However, the project essentially

disconnected the southern portions from the rest of the area designated as our research area.

As mentioned previously, this portion of the Great Tucson area is, and has historically been a minority-majority.<sup>101</sup> The eastern portion of this area, the South Park Neighborhood, was one of the few places in Tucson where those who identified as African-Americans could “purchase land, build homes, start businesses, and create a community”. The report provided a 1990 Census Bureau snapshot that displayed this community having a population of 2,400, with 43% identifying as African-American, 39% as Hispanic, 3% as Native American, and 15% identifying as another race and a median household income at \$7,992. However, the same document reports that the African-American population had comprised 90% of the area’s residents in the 1940 Census figures. Construction of Kino Boulevard led to deterioration of neighborhood businesses. This community was recognized as a U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)-designated Empowerment Zone and is also located within the Tucson Pima Enterprise Zone. Such designations allow the area to access resources dedicated to revitalization of dilapidated areas within the Great Tucson area, and the City of Tucson did just that in the 1990s.<sup>102</sup> The area underwent a revitalization following a grant from the

Federal Transit Administration by investing in sidewalk improvements, accessible bus shelters, landscaping, street lighting, lane reductions, and curb cuts and curb infill. The project incorporated ample community involvement and input, and the FTA awarded more money in funding for improvements. Takeaways from the project cited that dialogue must remain with the neighborhood to understand needs and understand the cultural sensitivity of the area.<sup>103</sup>

Currently, the area’s residents still identify overwhelmingly as a minority. The communities of the City of South Tucson Area take pride in their largely Mexican heritage and have held onto their culture fiercely, which is reflected by the many murals and Mexican restaurants which can be found in the area. These cultural representations of the Latino community are crucial to the community, as they provide “A space to showcase [Latino] culture and to involve community interaction”, as well as the opportunity for the community “to have a sustainable business in [Latino] neighborhoods” and provides Latinos a “pathway to entrepreneurial and cultural advantages”.<sup>104</sup>

### Demographic and Spatial Data

This report utilized American Community Survey block group data from 2017 in order to better understand the demographic

composition of the City of South Tucson Area. The area is composed of 90.1% people of color, which is far greater than the average for the City of Tucson and is vital to the culture of the area.<sup>105</sup> A demographic study done for the City of South Tucson in 2013 “found that 22% of the city’s residents are unemployed, and those who do have a job have a median income of \$22,000 a year.” Additionally, it found that “More than half of South Tucsonans live below the poverty line, and 84% of homes—even with one working family member, is on food stamps or some sort of government help”.<sup>106</sup>

Another demographic statistic that is important to note is that the City of South Tucson Area has high levels of children in poverty, at 58.2%. The city should take special care to analyze the effects of future policies, such as the future transit line and the development that will come in connection to what is already planned for The Bridges Planned Area Development. As development occurs around these future projects in this area, it is vital that there are rental protection policies in place, particularly because this area had a 28.3% increase in rental rates between 2010 and 2017. This is important because 55.8% of all households in the area are renter-occupied. It is also important to note that the City of South Tucson Area includes above average rates for families in poverty, with 32.6% of families in poverty, and low levels of college

education, with 66.5% of individuals over 25 never having received a formal college education.<sup>107</sup>

	SOUTH DRILLDOWN	CITY AVERAGE
CHANGE IN COLLEGE ATTAINMENT	+26.3%	+5.6%
CHANGE IN MEDIAN RENTS	+28.3%	+16.1%
CHANGE IN MEDIAN INCOME	-3.8%	+7.0%

Figure 54: Census Demographic Information in South Tucson Area Block Groups. Source: 2017 & 2018 ACS estimates.

	SOUTH DRILLDOWN	CITY AVERAGE
RENTER OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS	55.8%	45.8%
RESIDENTS OF COLOR	91.1%	51.9%
COLLEGE ATTAINMENT	33.5%	42.6%
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES	7.5%	5.7%
LACK ACCESS TO CAR	30.0%	12.3%

Figure 55: Census Demographic Information in South Tucson Area Block Groups. Source: 2017 & 2018 ACS estimates.

### **Existing Infrastructure and Amenities**

There are many amenities that currently exist and are available to the residents of this area, these include:

#### **Transportation infrastructure**

The drill down area is served by a number of different forms of transportation infrastructure, including frequent bus lines, Interstate 10, and several on and off street bike routes. The area currently has some of the highest transit per capita in the city, with 30% of households lacking access to a car.<sup>108</sup> The Loop and El Paso Greenways currently provide trail connections from the area to downtown and other parts of the city.

#### **Recreational amenities**

The area is served by a number of parks and greenways. These include the Loop, the El Paso Greenway, larger regional parks such as the Silver Lake Park and recreation fields on Kino Parkway, and smaller neighborhood parks. Additional parks facilities exist just outside of the drilldown area borders.

#### **Community facilities**

A number of public community facilities exist in the area, including two public libraries, South Tucson and federal government offices, the veterans administration hospital and clinics, Institutional facilities include non-profits (Primavera Foundation in South Tucson), educational facilities (multiple public schools and community schools), and community centers (Quincie Douglas Center,

the YWCA House of Neighborly Service, and the Sullivan Jackson Employment Center) catering to service needs.

#### **Analysis**

The City of South Tucson Area is most vulnerable to commercial displacement, and that, as commercial displacement occurs, residential, cultural and political displacement will follow. Commercial displacement is of key importance due to the fact that the area is already experiencing preliminary levels of commercial development that does not fit in with the current character of the area. As commercial development expands, it brings with it the concern for higher rental rates and the development of other new projects that do not meet the character of the community. This is a real pattern that residents of the city have noted with the Downtown Area, and residents fear that the pattern will continue with new development in the City of South Tucson Area.<sup>109</sup> Residents are already at risk of being displaced from their homes with drastic changes in rental rates, and new development will certainly cause those rates to rise, furthering the distrust that residents have for their government. As residents are displaced from their communities, and as new commercial and residential development expands and replaces older developments, the area will experience cultural displacement, irreversibly damaging the character of the neighborhood, as has

occurred in other parts of the city.<sup>110</sup> The City of Tucson could work with local community leaders and put policies and strategies into place ahead of such development in order to preserve the existing community character.<sup>111</sup>

#### **Recommendations**

Understanding the history and the existing characteristics of the City of South Tucson Area, it is essential to enact policies that will preserve the character, foster the culture of the neighborhood and protect the long-term residents and businesses.

#### **Develop an Equity Scorecard or Toolkit**

The City of Tucson should be proactive in promoting equity along the future transit line that is being explored by the City of Tucson Department of Transportation. This recommendation focuses on prioritizing the existing character of the community and its residents and encourages working together with the community to create equitable transit-oriented development. Working together with the community would foster trust and could provide creative solutions to unseen issues with future development. This recommendation could also be important in helping to give the community a voice to the type of development that they would like to see in their community and would give the City of Tucson the opportunity to show that future development improvements could be for the benefit of low-income and minority

residents and not solely to encourage development.



Figure 56: Principles of Equitable Development. Source: The Alliance.

### Utilize CDCs and Neighborhood Associations to Inform Planning Decisions

This recommendation is particularly important as commercial development expands into the City of South Tucson Area from Downtown Tucson and along major transportation corridors (such as Ajo Way and 6th Ave). A main concern in this area is the expansion of commercial and residential development that will occur in the surrounding areas as new commercial

development occurs. As discussed, the future planned transit line is of particular concern, and areas like The Bridges Planned Area Development may be of concern as well, these projects areas are likely to attract new surrounding residential and commercial development projects. As the development occurs, the value of the land that surrounds the development will likely begin to increase, causing a rise in the commercial and residential rental rates. The City of Tucson should work together with local leaders to identify sensitive sites with historical and cultural value and should put policies into place to help protect those sites. Additionally, the city should be prepared for rising residential rental rates and should work to put the resources in place so as to protect those who are most at risk to displacement, especially within dominantly Latino communities and other communities for people of color. This could include incentivizing specific projects to include a specific percentage of affordable housing, but should also have the mechanisms in place to protect small, local businesses as well. This could be done by creating development agreements that prioritize local businesses as future tenants of new commercial properties.<sup>112</sup>

### Educate Renters on their Rights

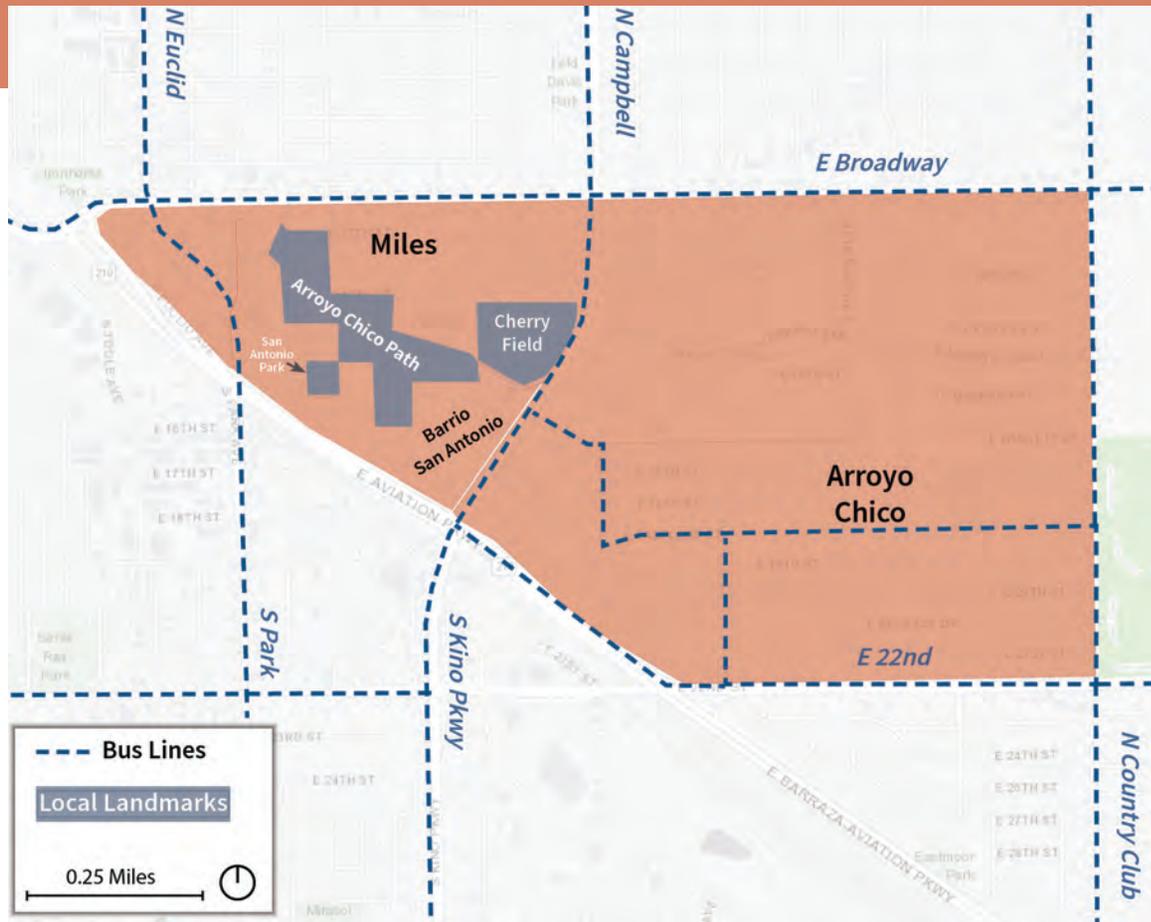
With the low levels of educational attainment in the City of South Tucson Area, and with a majority of households

being renter-occupied, it is important that the City of Tucson partner with local community leaders and organizations to help educate renters on their rights. Educating renters on their rights, and providing legal assistance to them, will help to protect those most vulnerable from being displaced from their homes. It is important that the City offer programs that protect and preserve neighborhoods as they are in order to combat residential and cultural displacement.



# Arroyo Chico Area

FIG 40.3: Arroyo Chico Area



Arroyo Chico, Barrio San Antonio, and the Miles Neighborhood represent the eastern focus area identified by the displacement mapping analysis. This area, called the Arroyo Chico area, lies west of Reid Park, north of the railroad tracks and route 210, south of Broadway, and east of downtown. The Arroyo Chico neighborhood to the East is separated from Barrio San Antonio and Miles to the west by South Kino Parkway. Barrio San Antonio and Arroyo Chico are mainly residential with areas of commerce and industry along their southern and western borders, with the Miles Neighborhood being almost exclusively residential. The area as a whole is home to a wide variety of shops, services, educational facilities, and community gathering spots. The close proximity to downtown, the University of Arizona, and Reid Park, along with park and transit amenities, and lower housing costs create ideal conditions for the potential displacement of current residents and businesses.

## Neighborhood History

Resources on the history of this area mainly come from the mid to late 80's when there was a push for the creation of neighborhood

and area plans in Tucson. The presence of public documentation on the history of this area is minimal. This may be due to its relative newness when compared to areas like Barrio Kroeger lane and the Menlo Park Neighborhood. Colonia Solana, a housing community adjacent to Reid Park and the Arroyo Chico neighborhood, was developed from 1920 to 1940 and has received extensive historical documentation.<sup>113</sup> Other neighborhoods in the area were constructed around the same period during the postwar population boom in Tucson during the late 1940's and 1950's. Additional historic resources and documents about each of the neighborhoods in this area are likely available through the Arizona Historical Society. However, due to national health concerns, the Historical Society is temporarily closed.

More recent documentation of the history and existing conditions of the Miles neighborhood exists in the Miles Neighborhood Plan, adopted in 2009. The land was originally acquired and subdivided by the developer Walter Murphy Sr. in the 1920's with constant residential development occurring from the 1930's to 1950's. The Miles elementary school was completed in 1949 and has served as an architectural and community anchor for the neighborhood.<sup>114</sup>



Figure 57: The Lost Barrio, Arroyo Chico Area. Source: Visit Tucson.

### Demographic and spatial data

According to American Community Survey data, the Arroyo Chico area has the highest college attainment rate among the four drilldown areas at nearly 52%. Additionally, its unemployment rate is lower than the city average at 3.3%. 51% of households are renter occupied compared to 45.7% of households city-wide. Between 2010 and 2017, this area has experienced a 13% increase in college educated residents, and increase in median incomes of 4.3%, and an increase in median rents by 27%. The higher than average proportion of renters combined with rising rents presents concerns for long time renters, residents with fixed incomes, residents with low incomes and those living

in affordable housing. Additionally, the mismatch between wage growth and rent increases may mean that renters with more well off means may be feeling the financial effects of rising rents as well.

	EAST DRILLDOWN	CITY AVERAGE
RENTER OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS	51.0%	45.8%
RESIDENTS OF COLOR	53.7%	51.9%
COLLEGE ATTAINMENT	51.8%	42.6%
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES	3.3%	5.7%

Figure 58: Census Demographic Information in Arroyo Chico Area Block Groups. Source: 2017 & 2018 ACS estimates.

	EAST DRILLDOWN	CITY AVERAGE
CHANGE IN COLLEGE ATTAINMENT	+13.3%	+5.6%
CHANGE IN MEDIAN RENTS	+27.0%	+16.1%
CHANGE IN MEDIAN INCOME	+4.4%	+7.0%

Figure 59: Census Demographic Information in Arroyo Chico Area Block Groups. Source: 2017 & 2018 ACS estimates.

### **Existing Infrastructure and Amenities**

The Arroyo Chico area is well served by recreational, transit, grocery facilities, and centers of community like parks and churches. Smaller parks like San Antonio Park and the Arroyo Chico flood management area serve both Barrio San Antonio and the Miles Neighborhood. The Arroyo Chico neighborhood does not have any parks located within it, merely the massive Reid Park, Zoo, and trail system, adjacent to it. However, the Arroyo itself does provide access to greenery and nature. Javelina, coyote, coati, and other Sonoran species frequent the wash. Bicycle and pedestrian infrastructure within the area allows residents and visitors to easily reach amenities such as parks and grocery stores. This infrastructure in conjunction with frequent Suntran bus routes on Broadway boulevard connects the east study area to destinations across Tucson. The grocery stores that serve this area are all located on the edges, mostly along Broadway in the case of Safeway and Natural Grocers and along 22nd street for Food City. Roma Imports is the only option that is locally owned; it is mainly a boutique Italian grocery that also provides moderately priced meal services such as lasagna. The few restaurants are found at the border between residential and commercial/industrial areas along the major roads which bound the east area.

### **Development, Investment and Planning Efforts**

Through contact with the Arroyo Chico neighborhood association, residents have voiced little concern over overt gentrification and displacement issues. However the loss of homes and usual businesses to redevelopment projects has been noted as concerning. Although the concerns of residents regarding displacement and affordability are not readily vocalized, it is important to recognize that these concerns exist. Of primary concern are two roadway widening projects on 22nd street to the south and the Broadway widening to the north, as well as the investment from Rio Nuevo along the Sunshine Mile. The loss of businesses and homes to construction as well as rent and market rate increases are cause for concern as the loss of homes and businesses may indicate major neighborhood change. Increases in traffic that will result from both roadway projects are of serious concern to neighborhood residents. With gentrification and displacement often follows increased traffic and congestion making growing traffic a possible indicator of future gentrification.

Due to an overlay zone created by the City of Tucson in 2004, property owners in the Arroyo Chico neighborhood are restricted on how they may use their property. This is potentially a benefit as these restrictions prevent house flipping and “upbuilding” of properties. As a result, the level of home

flipping and redevelopment is much more limited in Arroyo Chico compared to other rapidly changing areas in Tucson near Downtown.<sup>115 116</sup>

### **Neighborhood Plan**

The Arroyo Chico Neighborhood Area Plan was created and last updated in 1986. For the purposes of discovering the recent conditions of the neighborhood and the potential concerns for neighborhood change, the age of this plan makes it ineffective at identifying modern issues and concerns. While outdated, the plan provides background and context for the area that may be relevant to the present day. In the 1986 plan only 8.5% of all land in the Arroyo Chico, Barrio San Antonio, and Miles area was vacant, meaning that new development would most likely take the form of infill and redevelopment projects. The widening of Kino Parkway and the incoming construction of the Barraza-Aviation Parkway created concerns over increased car traffic throughout the plan area. Additionally, the plan cited redevelopment pressures on businesses and residents due to both infill development and redevelopment associated with the Kino and Aviation roadway projects as a concern.

The goals of the Arroyo Chico neighborhood plan are very similar to what a community in 2020 would be concerned about. The plan identifies the promotion and preservation

of natural and open spaces as a major goal, along with encouraging a compatible mix of uses that also protects the existing neighborhood character. The traffic concerns caused by the presence of two roadway expansion and construction projects at the time of the plan's creation mirrors neighborhood traffic and development concerns surrounding the ongoing widening of Broadway Boulevard. The desire to protect the area from increases in traffic is still a neighborhood concern today.<sup>117</sup>

The most recent neighborhood plan for the area is the Miles Neighborhood Plan, created in 2009. While development and change in this area has occurred within the last decade, the neighborhood plan outlines current conditions, trends, and changes which have taken place between 1980 and 2000.<sup>118</sup> At present, over 70% of the Miles neighborhood housing stock is at least 50 years old and is eligible for historic designation. Historic architecture and housing is often identified as an attractive feature for new residents and is a possible risk factor for future gentrification.

Between 1980 and 2000, Miles has seen a slight decline in college degree holders. The number of rental properties has also increased and is correlated with a decline in home ownership. The neighborhood plan has cited this change as possibly concerning for the stability and character of the

neighborhood as well as possibly concerning for the maintenance of properties. Increases in neighborhood traffic are also cited as concerning in the plan with most of the traffic attributed to nearby commercial uses and expansions. With the expansion of Broadway boulevard currently underway just to the north of Miles and expansions to the University of Arizona and nearby student housing developments, concerns over increases in traffic are likely more prominent in the present day. With major redevelopment occurring along with the Broadway widening project, the potential for the removal and displacement of residents and businesses is a concern.

### **Incoming Development and Investments**

This area has not seen much development in recent years. The vast majority of the area is currently developed, thus future development would most likely require tearing down existing structures and altering the community. Three projects that are currently underway or are planned for the near future are the widening of Broadway Boulevard, the Cherry Lofts in Barrio San Antonio, and the Volvo Dealership Planned Area Development (PAD).<sup>119</sup> The Sunshine Mile Overlay District, a Rio Nuevo TIF project was recently adopted. Once implemented, the overlay will focus on protecting historic landmarks and incentivizing adaptive reuse in historic areas and incentivise affordable housing and density in more industrial and

commercial areas of Broadway Blvd. This is in conjunction with the Broadway Widening Project.

The widening of Broadway Boulevard is the most significant development since the construction of the Arroyo Chico Flood Project. Stretching from S. Country Club Road to S. Euclid Avenue, Broadway will expand from 4 lanes and a turning lane, to 6-lanes and a turning lane. The expansion, which is currently underway, is taking place on the north side of Broadway, so properties within the Miles neighborhood are experiencing only minor changes to their site. Despite this, the presence of long-term construction and disruption caused by the roadway widening may cause permanent disruptions to businesses along Broadway near both Miles and Arroyo Chico. In addition, the increased traffic, decreased commute times, and other unforeseen variables, this project will precipitate physical and social community challenges. Ideally, the Sunshine Mile Overlay will help the commercial and residential community bounce back.<sup>120 121</sup>



Figure 60: Broadway Construction. Source: Arizona

Two current development projects are the Cherry Lofts in Barrio San Antonio at S. Kino and E. 15th Street and the Volvo Dealership PAD. The Cherry Lofts project is currently designed as a collection of 10, 2-story buildings for loft apartments and 1 building for office or commercial use. There will be 54-units and approximately 100 parking spaces. The design aims to create an environment where residents can live, work, and recreate<sup>122</sup>; there may be a co-working space on the property and it has access to the Arroyo Chico Greenway and other recreation amenities in the area. It is being developed by local developer Marcel Dabdoub along with Chris Kemmerly of Miramonte Homes.<sup>123</sup>

The City of Tucson bought the Volvo Dealership land in 2007; in 2017 it was rezoned from commercial (C-3) and Industrial (I-1) to a PAD. In 2018 Mayor and council directed staff to send out an request for proposals to purchase and develop the site.<sup>124</sup> The goal is to create a mixed-use, pedestrian and cyclist friendly that acts as a

gateway into downtown. The property was purchased by Welcome Hospitality which owns and manages the Welcome Diner, which is adjacent to the PAD.<sup>125</sup> A highly visible and large project like this has the potential to affect the communities that surround it by increasing traffic and human activity, sending a positive signal to other developers, and raising real estate values. This project supports and is supported by the widening of Broadway.

The Arroyo Chico Flood Control project was completed in 2015. It is a series of basins along the wash that act as retaining ponds for the Arroyo when it reaches flood stage. The infrastructure provides a place for Tucsonans to walk, bike, and enjoy nature by recreating a riparian environment with many native trees and shrubs within and along the banks of the basins. A shared-use path runs along the banks and in one section a small BMX and dirt jump course was built. The shared-use path connects with the Arroyo Chico Greenway and other bike infrastructure. This project was only possible by tearing down over 1,000 homes and businesses worth \$226 Million and significantly altering the community along the Arroyo.<sup>126</sup> However, the need for flood insurance has decreased in the area signifying a safer human environment. This reduces the economic burden upon those living in the area, but it may also make the area more desirable to investors.<sup>127</sup>

## Analysis

ACS data, responses from neighborhood organizations, and predicting the effects of current development projects such as the Broadway widening were the main factors used in identifying the type of neighborhood change occurring in the east area. Based on our definition of displacement and its subtypes, this area is vulnerable to near-term residential and commercial displacement which may lead to cultural and/or political displacement in the long-term.

The ACS data indicates current structural demographic changes are occurring: rising college attainment, an increasing proportion of renter occupied units (52%), and a 27% increase in median rent.<sup>128</sup> The rise in rent has outpaced the meager 4.3% rise in income leading many households to be rent burdened.<sup>129</sup> This data points to a population of renters who are vulnerable to eviction or being unable to meet rent.

The widening of Broadway Boulevard and its current and future effects on the economic and social fabric of the area could undermine local businesses and expedite resident turnover. A large portion of the businesses in the east area are located along Broadway and despite continued access, the construction represents a barrier to business.<sup>130</sup> This, combined with the effects of the current Covid-19 pandemic represent a serious financial burden to continued

operation. After these difficult times for businesses, the Sunshine Mile Overlay has the potential to bring businesses back, help businesses start again, as well as keep rents affordable for commercial and residential spaces - a critical factor for community support.

Broadway's proximity to Downtown and the University, combined with increased traffic flow, improved pedestrian and cyclist infrastructure, and development potential along it may increase the desirability of the area to new homebuyers and renters, as well as businesses looking for a prime location.<sup>131</sup> The presence of both a renter population who may be vulnerable to a rent gap, and an acute shock to the local business environment from the widening of Broadway may lead to near-term residential and commercial displacement.<sup>132</sup> However, over time these forms of displacement could lead to more intrinsic changes within Barrio San Antonio, the Miles Neighborhood, and Arroyo Chico.

## Recommendations

### Provide assistance and education to renters on their rights

This includes notifying renters about potential challenges such as short eviction notice periods and potentially providing programs to assist in emergency housing costs. Based on the demographic characteristics of the east study area, a high

proportion of renters at 52% of residents coupled with a 27% increase in rents in the area between 2010 and 2017 indicate a population potentially vulnerable to displacement. Renters on fixed or slowly rising incomes are the most vulnerable to sharp rent increases

### Increase working relationships with community development coalitions to secure affordable housing

The City of Tucson should work in tandem with community housing groups whenever possible to provide and purchase affordable housing units within the area. Vacant units, abandoned units, and vacant properties are prime targets for providing more affordable housing to city residents; according to ACS data in 2018 there was an average 10.8% vacancy rate throughout the 6 block groups that overlap or are within the East area.<sup>133</sup> Increasing the available stock of low income and affordable housing units is one of the most effective means of preventing the financial displacement of renters.<sup>134</sup>

### Property tax relief and property upkeep assistance for property owners.

Tax relief and upkeep assistance may be especially important for senior citizens, low income residents, and residents who are unemployed, disabled, and receiving social security assistance. These residents are vulnerable to displacement due to low or fixed incomes and despite owning property,

they may be unable to keep up with property taxes and maintenance work.



Figure 61: San Antonio Park. Source: Andrew Quarles.

### Improving city to neighborhood communication

This type of communication becomes especially important in regards to upcoming development projects. Upfront communication can help neighborhoods to prepare for possible changes and can allow neighborhoods to voice legitimate concerns regarding displacement and possibly identify solutions to address displacement before it happens.



Figure 62: Arroyo Chico Park/Greenway. Source: Andrew Quarles.

# Menlo Park Area

FIG 40.4: Menlo Park Area



This Menlo Park area drilldown encompasses two west-side neighborhoods: Menlo Park and Barrio Kroeger Lane. This area is bounded by St Mary's Road to the north, the I-10 Freeway to the east, Sentinel Peak and Tumamoc Hill to the west, and 22nd St to the south. Barrio Kroeger Lane is within the boundary of the Menlo Park neighborhood. This area has experienced the impacts of new development within the last ten years, concurrent to streetcar and downtown development efforts. In reaction to these changes, neighborhood leadership groups have taken several steps to ensure they have a voice in the future decision making and to help mitigate negative impacts of new development, especially displacement among longtime residents. It is recommended that the city make use of neighborhood momentum and expand support to increase resident engagement and investment opportunities.

## Neighborhood History

The neighborhoods of Menlo Park and Barrio Kroeger Lane hold significant historical and cultural value dating back over 4,000 years to the birth of Tucson.<sup>135</sup> The Tohono O'odham raised corn and established settlements in what is now Menlo Park. Spanish settlers

established a visiting mission on the south side of the Menlo Park Neighborhood in the 18th century<sup>136</sup> and introduced the Tohono O’odham Nation to new technology and agricultural techniques. Once the Spanish settlers left, Mexican farmers moved to the west-side to grow crops, since the land was so close to the Santa Cruz River.<sup>137</sup> The Menlo Park Neighborhood was officially designated in 1912 by Henry Schwalen and was originally developed only for Anglo residents, but eventually was opened up to all residents. Barrio Kroeger Lane is sometimes referred to as ‘Sal Si Puedes’ due to its location on the banks of the Santa Cruz River and due to the occasional flooding that only leaves a few exits out of the neighborhood.<sup>138</sup> Many residents of Menlo Park and Barrio Kroeger Lane have family histories that date back three generations or more. Today, these west-side neighborhoods are home to many historic cultural celebrations, like El Dia de San Juan Fiesta and the Dia De Los Muertos procession.



Figure 64: Historic Menlo Park Farming Area. Source: Menlo Park Neighborhood Association

### Demographic and Spatial Data

The Menlo Park and Barrio Kroeger Lane neighborhoods are primarily lower-income and Latinx, the demographic making up 63% of its residents. Educational attainment in this area is lower than the city as a whole; 52% of the Menlo Park area population’s highest educational attainment is some college, compared to 61% city-wide, and 21% of the Menlo Park area population has highest educational attainment is a bachelor’s degree, compared to 27% city-wide. The median household income is \$26,850, much lower than the city’s at \$41,625. The Menlo Park area neighborhood’s median gross rent is \$742, lower than the city’s at \$825. Within the neighborhoods, 14% of renter-occupied



Figure 63: Mission Garden at the site of Tucson’s birthplace. Photo credit: Nick O’Gara

housing units are paying more than 30% of their income on rent and 21% of renters are paying 50% or more of their income on rent. The average household size is currently 2.0, lower than the city’s 2.4 average household size and the Menlo Park area’s average of 2.2 in 2015.

	WEST DRILLDOWN	CITY AVERAGE
RENTER OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS	63.4%	45.8%
RESIDENTS OF COLOR	78.9%	51.9%
COLLEGE ATTAINMENT	38.8%	42.6%
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES	14.2%	5.7%

Figure 65: Census Demographic Information in Menlo Park Area Block Groups. Source: 2017 & 2018 ACS estimates.

	WEST DRILLDOWN	CITY AVERAGE
CHANGE IN COLLEGE ATTAINMENT	+18.4%	+5.6%
CHANGE IN MEDIAN RENTS	+18.7%	+16.1%
CHANGE IN MEDIAN INCOME	+17.6%	+7.0%

Figure 66: Census Demographic Information in Menlo Park Area Block Groups. Source: 2017 & 2018 ACS estimates.

### Existing Infrastructure and Amenities

The Menlo Park area is well-served in terms of recreation, transit, grocery options, and community gathering areas. Surrounding the Menlo Park and Barrio Kroeger Lane Neighborhoods are recreation areas Sentinel Peak, Tumamoc Hill, the Santa Cruz River Park, and the multi-modal Loop trail. These areas are very popular for all Tucson residents and can get very crowded. Smaller parks like Menlo Park, Verdugo Park, and Garden of Gethsemane are also present in these neighborhoods for smaller recreational purposes and are typically used for picnics, barbecues, sports, etc. Other community resources include Mission Garden - a living agricultural museum of traditional Sonoran Desert crops and plants<sup>139</sup> and the Mercado San Agustin is an open courtyard area that hosts farmers markets and houses several local restaurants. Menlo Park is also home to St. Mary's Hospital and the El Rio Community Health Center. There are two options for larger grocery stores, Food City and Safeway, along with other smaller grocers and markets in the various west-side neighborhoods.

In terms of transit, Menlo Park encompasses the last two stops on the Sunlink Streetcar line. The Streetcar connects these west-side neighborhoods to Tucson's downtown as well as the University of Arizona. There are three full service Suntran bus lines that go

through Menlo Park and one full service Suntran line that goes along the south side of Barrio Kroeger Lane. In terms of bikeability in Menlo Park and Barrio Kroeger Lane, there are multiple bike routes on lower traffic neighborhood streets as well as painted bike lanes on higher traffic streets. The multi-modal path, The Loop, is also connected to the west-side neighborhoods along the Santa Cruz River.

### Development, Investments and Planning Efforts

This area has seen a lot of interest for development in recent years, especially after the SunLink Streetcar was finished in 2014. Also, because Menlo Park is part of the Rio Nuevo tax increment finance district, more development has been brought in to expand the tax base and bring people and new businesses into Tucson's downtown.<sup>140</sup> Developments that Rio Nuevo has helped bring to Tucson's west-side include: Caterpillar's Tucson Mining Center, MSA Annex, and Mission Garden. Caterpillar's Tucson Mining Center was completed in 2019 and sits on the Santa Cruz River by Cushing Street. While many residents of Menlo Park and Barrio Kroeger Lane have acknowledged that the new space for Caterpillar could bring jobs, they also voiced concern why the City was more focused on tax breaks for private companies instead of resources for long-term neighborhood residents.<sup>141</sup> MSA Annex is a mixed retail and dining space made

from modified shipping containers and includes sustainable landscaping and water harvesting.<sup>142</sup> Higher density residential development has also been built around the Sunlink Streetcar area including: the West End Station, Monier Apartments, Lillian Court, Sentinel Plaza (senior housing), and Mercado Row Houses.



Figure 67- Streetcar at the Mercado District in the Menlo Park neighborhood. Source: AZPM

In terms of proposed and ongoing development in the area, the Baustista, a mixed-use development with retail and residential units, is set to be completed in 2020.<sup>143</sup> There will be approximately 16,000 square feet of retail space and about 253 residential units. There has been more interest in parcels, like the location for the Baustista, that are close or near the Santa Cruz River. This is due to the Santa Cruz River

Heritage Project that uses reclaimed water to recharge the Santa Cruz River's riparian habitat and allows for some water flow.<sup>144</sup>

Since the land that Menlo Park and Barrio Kroeger Lane reside on is where Tucson's earliest residents lived, there have been plans for a heritage park at the base of Sentinel Peak or 'A' Mountain. Currently in the works is the Tucson Origins Heritage Park, a 22-acre plan for "...a historically re-created mission, gardens, and cultural center"<sup>145</sup> and this plan was first approved by the neighborhood in 1999. Mission Garden was the first phase of the project and was completed back 2015. There is worry from Menlo Park and Barrio Kroeger Lane residents that what was planned to be the Tucson Origins Heritage Park will not fully come to be, since the full project is still not complete, over 20 years later. There is also worry because the parcels that Caterpillar was developed on were part of the north tip of the planned heritage park. There has been neighborhood and city council momentum around making the parcels that encompass Tucson Origins Heritage Park a historic landmark designation to protect from any future development that is not related to the heritage park.<sup>146</sup>

The Menlo Park neighborhood has a very active and organized neighborhood association that has been focused on addressing concerns of residents and the

future of the neighborhood. Social and economic changes in neighborhood have spurred response from neighborhood leadership, such as creating a Neighborhood Plan and plans to directly address issues of gentrification and lack of affordable housing.

### Analysis

Many local news articles have covered neighborhood concerns of rising housing prices pushing families out of neighborhoods that have lived in them for generations. Residents of the west-side neighborhoods attribute this change to new developments and businesses that attract higher-income shoppers and residents.<sup>147</sup> A study conducted in 2016 by the Journal of Family Strengths interviewed 195 residents of Menlo Park to better understand their concerns of gentrification and neighborhood needs. Findings revealed that many residents were concerned over the preservation of Mexican American culture and older characteristics of the neighborhood. Community get-togethers, events and celebrations are important activities for residents to maintain meaningful connections. Interviews also showed that every-day interactions, like conversing with a neighbor over their fence, were important to residents. Newcomers and new developments in the area have shifted residents' experience of the neighborhood as traditional activities and characteristics changed and "values are divided by race, class, and political affiliation".<sup>148</sup> The

neighborhood had also offered residents a sense of community as children played on the streets. The closure of the Menlo Park Elementary school in 2013 exacerbated this sense of loss. The school was shut down by TUSD due to low attendance and school funding.<sup>149</sup> Residents expressed extreme pain from the lack of presence of children and the community activities that were offered by the school. In 2019, the superintendent Dr. Gabriel Trujillo of TUSD attended a Menlo Park Neighborhood Association meeting and discussed with residents that the school may be opened up in the foreseeable future.



Figure 68: "The Park" in front of Menlo Park Elementary School. Source: Arizona Daily Star

**Neighborhood Association Concerns**  
So far, the Neighborhood Plan Steering Committee has worked with neighbors,

the city ward office, and the City Manager’s office to consolidate resources to write the document. There will be a strong focus of heritage and historic preservation efforts. The goals of the Gentrification and the Affordable Housing Steering Committee include:

1. Identifying residents at risk of being displaced,
2. Identifying predatory real-estate investors,
3. Creating a property tax exemptions initiative for senior residents,
4. Outreach and education for at-risk residents,
5. Ways to increase housing stock to keep housing costs lower,
6. Exploring HUD CDBG funding for home repairs and home renovation mortgage programs, and
7. Creating a neighborhood stabilization and loan program to support low-income homeowners.<sup>150</sup>

When asked about neighborhood change in Barrio Kroeger Lane, the president of the barrio’s neighborhood association, Neil Saunders, replied that his answer is complex, and he has many unanswered questions. The neighborhood falls outside of the Rio Nuevo TIF District, so it does not benefit from the investment dollars spent on new developments. Yet, the neighborhood is on the border of this type of development,

which puts a disinvested and low-income neighborhood like Barrio Kroeger Lane in the position of risk for future gentrification. Saunders shared that he himself feels he is a gentrifier, even though his neighbors disagree. Because of this, he says he is “constantly wondering how to improve the neighborhood in a way that will not result in more people wanting to move [to Kroeger Lane] and thus hasten the gentrification process”. Barrio Kroeger Lane also has a local nonprofit started in 2015 by residents called Favor Celestial. What drove the creation of this nonprofit was “the social and economic inequality distressing Barrio Kroeger Lane” and the threat of gentrification on the southern border of the neighborhood that is a “threat to the neighbors, and the neighborhood’s housing, social and cultural makeup”.<sup>151</sup> Favor Celestial has some key priority areas to address. They include:

1. Social and economic inequalities that disenfranchise the neighbors in poverty.
2. Lack of a strategic course of action.
3. Insufficient continuity of effort for cultural and neighborhood preservation to prevent more gentrification in the neighborhood.<sup>152</sup>

### **Recommendations**

#### **Maintain recognition and partnerships between city and current neighborhood Leadership**

The Menlo Park Neighborhood Association has spearheaded efforts to combat gentrification and create more affordable housing through their Gentrification and Affordable Housing Steering Committee. The committee goals focus on keeping vulnerable populations from being displaced. Property tax exemptions for seniors, outreach and education for at-risk residents, stabilization and loan programs are desired tools the neighborhood wishes to implement. The Barrio Kroeger Lane Neighborhood Association specifically calls out for a method of rent control or freeze on property taxes “...to secure long term home ownership, and avoid displacement of families and individuals within the Barrio.”<sup>153</sup> These efforts should be further supported by the city to make sure neighborhood leadership and input is recognized and valued.

#### **Utilize and encourage Community Benefits Agreements (CBAs)**

This established and strong neighborhood leadership may greatly benefit from the use of CBA’s. Community concern is heavily focused on developments and the preservation of neighborhood culture. CBAs can provide the community more leverage to create local business opportunities and profits from developers. This tool also provides needed communication and transparency between the residents and developers. Currently, both Barrio

Kroeger Lane and Menlo Park residents are participating in efforts to map their cultural assets within their neighborhoods. As these two neighborhoods engage in mapping cultural assets in their community, CBAs can provide legal protection of these resources. This type of engagement can build community trust, a sense of ownership, and empowerment.

**Support of Community Land Trusts (CLTs)**

The presence of a CLT would be valuable in maintaining long term ownership of land to provide permanent affordable housing for these west-side neighborhoods. As more development comes in and threatens to raise property taxes and rents, protecting valuable land for affordable residential use should be a main priority for the city. Vacant or unused lots in these neighborhoods could potentially be a way to buy and build affordable housing through CLTs. If there is a change in state law, the city could consider inclusionary zoning for new developments, especially those being built in Rio Nuevo or by the Sunlink Streetcar.

# ACTION RECOMMENDATIONS

## Policy Categories

As neighborhoods grow and change, it is important for policy makers to guide residential and commercial development to ensure change is equitable and inclusive so as to prevent displacement. The following section will outline policy and action recommendations which serve this end. This project has identified four categories of actions which should be considered in preventing displacement.

### 1. Affordable Housing

### 2. Equitable Infrastructure and Transit-Oriented Development

### 3. Renter Assistance

### 4. Community Partnerships





# Affordable Housing

Affordable housing plays an integral role in preventing displacement within a community. However, securing affordable housing in any given area can be complex and contentious. This section will provide a variety of planning tactics which can be used to secure affordable housing at many different levels. For example, some of the tactics in this section pertain to the development of city-run programs to secure affordable housing long term, while others focus on altering the Unified Development Code (UDC) to allow for more variety in the types of naturally occurring affordable housing allowed in Tucson.<sup>154</sup> Utilizing a variety of these tactics will be essential in securing city-wide affordable housing and preventing displacement.

The policy recommendations in this section fall into four categories: Developing affordable housing, incentivizing the development of affordable housing, modifying development practices and preserving affordable housing stock.

## Developing Affordable Housing

### Housing Trust Fund

The city of Tucson established a housing trust fund in 2006. Housing trust funds can be utilized to provide new affordable housing options or to rehabilitate current affordable housing, providing the incentive to build affordable housing before displacement pressures arise. Housing trust funds are normally sourced through real estate transfer taxes, interest from real estate transactions, and penalties for late payments of real estate excise taxes.<sup>155</sup> Tucson's fund was previously overseen by the Tucson Housing Trust Fund Citizens Advisory Committee, a role now taken over by the Metropolitan Housing Commission.<sup>156</sup> The Tucson Housing Trust Fund is not being advertised or used to its full capacity and should be a focus for the City of Tucson in order to increase the City's affordable housing stock. One of the benefits of the increasing use of the housing trust fund in Tucson is that the funding structure already exists and there is a great deal of flexibility in deciding where the money is spent (grants, low-interest loans for constructing/rehabilitating affordable housing, individual household housing costs, etc.). The funds are also protected for stated housing purposes, making it an immediate option to help counter displacement. One major challenge for this tactic is that the Fund could be diminished if it is not prioritized by the City.

## Adjust Low-Income Housing Tax Credit Affordability Term



The Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program is the largest affordable rental housing development program in the United States and has been the most successful rental housing program in Arizona. LIHTC encourages investment of private capital in the development of rental housing by providing credit to offset an investor's federal income tax liability.<sup>157</sup> Properties in Arizona must remain in compliance with the program guidelines and rent restriction requirements for no less than 30 years. The City of Tucson should explore passing an ordinance requiring longer affordability requirements for properties using LIHTC, between 50 – 60 years. This tactic has the potential to greatly expand and protect the city's affordable housing stock in the long term. It could, however, also potentially reduce for-profit developer participation in

LIHTC programs. Still, it is important to note that cities and states that have increased the time limit have not reported any decline.

### Partnership with School Districts

The infographic features a red circle with 'MID TERM' and a green circle with a '\$' symbol. Below them is a purple box labeled 'KEY PLAYERS' containing the text 'PDS, Housing and Community Development Department, Arizona Department of Housing'. At the bottom is a dark grey box labeled 'EXAMPLE' with 'Portland, Oregon<sup>201</sup>' underneath.

The City of Tucson should consider creating partnerships with local school districts to develop affordable housing on surplus school properties or to develop sub-market rate housing for teachers on or near a school property. School districts could put their surplus land into use for affordable housing through a partnership or a land swap.<sup>158</sup> This tactic shows promise in the Tucson context because it utilizes land that would otherwise remain vacant or closed to increase housing affordability stock and has the potential to increase teacher housing. Some challenges with using this tactic include implementation time and potential conflicting community goals for surplus school sites.

## Incentivizing Affordable Housing Development

### Split-Rate Taxes

The infographic features a blue circle with 'LONG TERM' and a green circle with a '\$' symbol. Below them is a purple box labeled 'KEY PLAYERS' containing the text 'PDS, Local School Districts'. At the bottom is a dark grey box labeled 'EXAMPLE' with 'Austin, Texas' underneath.

Split-rate taxes are implemented to split property taxes into a lower tax rate for buildings and a higher tax rate for land in order to encourage the improvement or renovation of buildings while disincentivizing land speculation and vacant buildings. Studies have shown that flat-rate property taxes end up penalizing building improvements when assessments raise the value of the overall property.<sup>159</sup> This is an indirect strategy for building affordable housing since it provides an incentive to release vacant properties that could be turned into affordable housing. It also encourages property owners to improve their property without the risk of an overall

tax increase. Further, many states and cities have reported that homeowners paid less with a split-rate tax instead of a flat-rate tax. One challenge with this tax is that it can be relatively difficult to explain to the public compared to a flat tax.

### Encouraging More Missing Middle Housing

The infographic features a red circle with 'MID TERM' and a green circle with '\$\$' symbol. Below them is a purple box labeled 'KEY PLAYERS' containing the text 'PDS'. At the bottom is a dark grey box labeled 'EXAMPLE' with 'Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania' underneath.

Missing middle housing is a range of multi-unit or clustered housing types that are compatible in scale with single-family detached homes. Some of these clustered housing types include: bungalow courts, townhomes, duplexes, triplexes, or courtyard apartments. Studies have shown that diversifying housing options increases choices and lowers housing prices across the market.<sup>160</sup> This strategy also provides more choice for homeowners and renters at different stages in their lives. The City of Tucson should explore changing the Unified

Development Code to allow for denser zoning in areas that have been zoned as single-family lots. One drawback to this type of policy is that new development of this kind could face neighborhood opposition in some areas of the city.

### Create an Urban Infill Housing Tool that Prioritizes Affordable Housing



The city should create an urban infill housing tool that can incentivize greater housing density options in exchange for the construction of affordable housing. The city currently has a Flexible Lot Development (FLD) option for developers, but the FLD prioritizes the preservation of open space, rather than affordable housing options. There are several requirements in residential developments that could be modified in exchange for providing affordable housing units including: modifications to requirements regarding height; perimeter

yard setbacks; minimum lot sizes; maximum density; and parking. With an expansion of the FLD option to include affordable housing, parameters would need to be put into place that would allow for monitoring and enforcement. A city-appointed community liaison position should be explored as a means of ensuring that any affordable housing created as part of a subdivision remains affordable and available to those most at risk of displacement.<sup>161</sup>

### Streamline City Codes and Permit Processes



Permit processing and plan review are currently time and resource consuming processes. The City should explore streamlining development plans for projects that incorporate a number of affordable housing units above the already required amount. This tool could be used to incentivize developers to incorporate more

than the required number of affordable housing units within a given development in exchange for a reduced review schedule.<sup>162</sup>

## Modifying Development Practices

### Relaxing Regulations on Accessory Dwelling Units



Accessory Dwelling Units (ADUs) are separate, usually smaller, dwellings built by a homeowner adjacent to a single family house. ADUs have been incorporated into other jurisdictions' regulations and may benefit residents as a way to prevent displacement, offer more affordable housing in convenient, inner-urban locations, and can serve as multi-generational housing. Illegal ADUs are extremely common in Tucson. Legalizing these dwelling units would provide more protections for existing renters and encourage the creation of additional units.

## Relaxing Regulations on Additional Affordable Housing Products



Alternative, affordable housing products that the City of Tucson could permit include microunits, tiny houses, RVs, and other houses on wheels. These housing types are already commonly found in Tucson and can offer small, extremely affordable housing. These units also cater to those seeking multi-generational housing on the same lot, as well as deeply affordable housing for students, single adults, and the homeless.<sup>163</sup> Tiny houses on foundations are currently allowed in the City of Tucson, however, expanding this to allow those on wheels could make them a more practical option for many households.

## Retaining Affordable Housing

### Community Land Trusts



A land trust is a form of land ownership where a community-run non-profit owns land for housing but leases it to long-term tenants who own the homes built on the land.<sup>164</sup> This land tenure model can create permanently affordable home ownership opportunities through legal covenants and sharing the costs of land ownership. The Pima County Community Land Trust (PCCLT) was initiated by the City of Tucson and currently helps low-to-moderate income homebuyers and renters in the Tucson community.<sup>165</sup> A similar non-profit, the Southern Arizona Land Trust (SALT) was created by the Industrial Development Authority of Pima County in 2008 and has a combined focus on affordable home ownership and rental properties.<sup>166</sup> The City of Tucson should explore expanding its financial and logistical support for PCCLT and SALT.

## Online Affordable Housing Portal



The City of Tucson Housing and Community Development has affordable housing opportunities listed on their website.<sup>167</sup> While this is useful, there are examples of Affordable Housing Portals which are user friendly, and list a wide variety of housing options, outside of just the available options provided by city programs. For example, San Jose, California provides images, income level and rental cost of section 8 housing, land trust housing and private affordable developments.<sup>168</sup> This type of housing portal should be created and maintained in order to keep tabs on all affordable housing developments and units within the city limits. While this would require an extension of resources in start up, as well as ongoing operating and maintenance costs, this database would be able to help the City of Tucson make sure they are keeping on track with plan goals in terms of creating and preserving housing affordability.

# Equitable Infrastructure & Transit-Oriented Development (TOD)

Expanded public transit and biking and walking facilities have the potential to significantly improve the mobility of low-income and minority populations who traditionally have low rates of car ownership.<sup>169</sup> Low-income and minority populations are, however, often considered “captive” transit riders without other mobility options and overlooked in the planning process for these new infrastructure projects. Similarly, new infrastructure investments such as rail lines have been shown to spur gentrification and displacement by increasing the attractiveness of an area for development.<sup>170</sup> As the City of Tucson considers new transit and multi-modal investments such as streetcar extensions, it is important that a focus be put on who these facilities are intended to serve. A focus on social equity should be used in all new city infrastructure projects as well as city sponsored transit-oriented development.

## Comprehensive Parking Reform



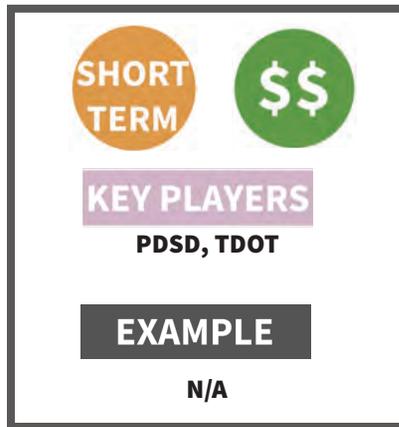
The City of Tucson should either lower the number of parking spaces required for new developments or remove the requirement of parking altogether, especially in areas along frequent transit corridors. Reducing or removing minimum parking requirements has been shown to both lower the cost of development and encourage transit ridership.<sup>171</sup> While the city currently allows for exemptions to minimum parking requirements in the downtown core through the Infill Incentive District and in other areas through the use of an Individual Parking Plan, removing minimum requirements citywide would streamline the development process and lower costs. Some cities have also experimented with hybrid approaches which remove minimum parking requirements for some uses or within a specific distance of a frequent transit line.<sup>172</sup>

## Focus Community Engagement Around TOD



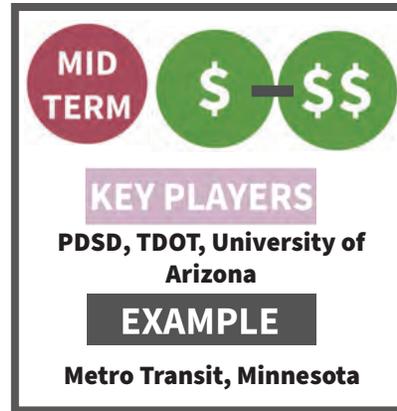
Equity in urban and transportation planning is both a procedural and distributional problem. Low-income and minority communities have traditionally been most negatively affected by top-down transportation planning initiatives that increase pollution, noise, and safety issues without bringing community benefits.<sup>173</sup> As a result, many communities are distrustful of new government initiatives. The city should focus engagement efforts in these communities in an effort to build trust, accessibility, and accountability. One example is Metro Transit’s Everyday Equity program in Minnesota, which engages low-income and minority communities through bus stop improvements, targeted hiring in minority communities, internship programs and making sure that outreach is done in multiple languages.<sup>174</sup>

### Increasing Regular Engagement Efforts



The city should focus on expanding engagement beyond specific projects to encourage regular communication with neighborhoods - ideally via increasing the number of city staff focused on neighborhood engagement. This effort could be linked with the City’s promising effort in the Department of Transportation and Mobility’s use of paid street ambassadors, who have been hired to engage their peers and neighborhoods in the city’s long-range transportation plan, Move Tucson. These street ambassadors will be used in the community to engage with residents about transportation planning as they go about their day to day lives.<sup>175</sup>

### Develop an Equity Scorecard or Toolkit



One common concern in transportation planning, and infrastructure development generally, is who improvements will benefit. As the City of Tucson invests in better bicycle and pedestrian facilities and improvements to public transit, it should use tools such as an equity scorecard or equity analyses to ensure that these improvements are for the benefit of low-income and minority residents and not solely to encourage development. This tactic has been successfully utilized by Metro Transit’s Everyday Equity program in Minnesota.<sup>176</sup> Another tool that the city could use in planning more equitable infrastructure investments is the Dukakis Center’s Toolkit for Equitable Neighborhood Change in Transit-Rich Neighborhoods.<sup>177</sup> The toolkit outlines resources to build broad based community engagement, engage local CDCs, coordinate transportation and land use efforts and encourage equitable transit-oriented development.

### Clarify Equity Goals

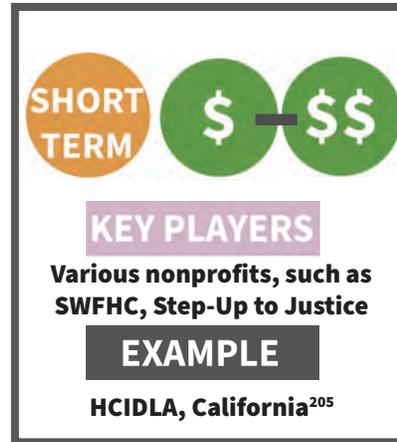


A focus on racial and social equity is likely to conflict with the City’s current focus on building political support for new projects via ward-based geographic equity. It is important that the city articulate clear racial and social equity goals and is transparent in promoting these goals over business as usual in order to remedy existing disparities within Tucson. Continuing to attempt to invest equally across all wards instead of focusing on need will further perpetuate existing inequities.

# Renter Assistance

This project has found that Tucson renters face displacement at much higher rates than homeowners. This stems from a combination of a lack of secure affordable housing stock in historically low-income areas, and a lack of legal protections for renters. As this report has indicated, Arizona state legislation currently favors landlord and landowner rights over the rights of tenants. One area this is reflected in eviction practices state wide. Most of these evictions are legal and within the rights of the landlords. Altering eviction law in Arizona will require lobbying at the state level. Some other forms of evictions or practices of renter discrimination are not legal, but are still surprisingly common.<sup>178</sup> The Southwest Fair Housing Coalition has noted, for example, that during the COVID-19 pandemic Asians are seeing a higher rate of discrimination in Tucson, with landlords unwilling to rent to them for fear they carry the coronavirus.<sup>179</sup> The city should focus on education, legal aid, and non-profit partnerships to improve tenant rights within Tucson.

## Educate Renters on their Rights



Reports from Southwest Fair Housing Council and experts who handle unlawful evictions have noted a lack of education provided regarding tenant rights and how to identify discriminatory practices.<sup>180</sup> There are several ways in which the city could assist with efforts to address this issue. The city could host a series of educational events on tenant rights for both tenants and landlords. Or, the city could expand partnerships with nonprofits such as the Southwest Fair Housing Council and Step-Up to Justice, who are currently making efforts to educate vulnerable renters on their rights.

## Provide Legal Assistance and Legal Process Education



There are multiple organizations providing legal assistance to renters. The city should support these efforts through providing fee waivers/deferments and education about how people can find low-cost legal advice. This report has also identified a need for additional emergency legal help for tenants facing eviction. The city could address this issue through providing or subsidizing the provision of free or low-cost legal aid for tenants. The city could alternatively distribute information on the legal process to tenants, and how they can contact local non-profit legal aid providers such as Southern Arizona Legal Aid.<sup>181</sup>

## Partner with Nonprofit Organizations



have the capacity to identify and apply for these funding sources. These efforts should encourage and provide support for nonprofits that focus efforts on emergency legal assistance for vulnerable and low-income individuals.

While Tucson has a number of nonprofits working on affordable housing and tenant aid, city support is required to meet needs within the community. For example, the area is in need of a non-profit organization focused on emergency tenant assistance.<sup>182</sup> These steps might be taken to help support the cities nonprofits to support vulnerable renter populations:

### ***Provide Information and Grant Assistance to Nonprofit Organizations:***

There are a variety of grants available for organizations providing legal aid through the federal government agencies and other funding sources. The city should use its experience applying for federal grants to provide technical assistance to non profit organizations that might not otherwise

# Community Partnerships

Community partnerships are an integral part of all successful anti-displacement programs and policies.<sup>183</sup> The City of Tucson should explore opportunities to expand its community partnerships in order to facilitate trust and equitable growth. It is important that the city supports and enables community leaders and community organizations to gain political and cultural representation at multiple levels of the policy and strategy making process. This section includes two categories of community partnership tactics. These are assistance to community development corporations/neighborhood organizations, and community development assistance. Successful community based programs require consistent, long term funding. The city should explore avenues for this funding, including small tax increases, while ensuring the funding sources do not place an undue burden on low income households. Through these strategies the goal is to prioritize reinvesting in low-income neighborhoods, creating opportunities for inclusive planning and development, and building community agency by expanding political and cultural representation.

## Assistance to CDCs and Neighborhood Organizations

Explore ways to create and sustain close working relationships with CDCs.



Community development corporations (CDCs) and other community development organizations (CDOs) such as the Primavera Foundation, Habitat for Humanity Tucson, and Community Home Repair Projects of Arizona, represent a powerful resource and partner in the City of Tucson’s mission to create communities that are resilient to gentrification and displacement.<sup>184</sup> Through their close relationships with community members, in-situ perspective, and wealth of local knowledge, these groups can accomplish things that may be difficult for the city to achieve. Supporting CDCs also has the potential to empower and increase the capacity of the community to improve and maintain wellbeing for all residents.

## CDC and Community Organization Staff Liaison



The city should invest in creating a dedicated liaison position to manage the relationship between community organizations and local government, providing an alternative to the Ward-based leadership. This position could be responsible for the following:

- Create and manage a stakeholder network between the various CDOs, developers, and the city.
- Create and maintain an up-to-date database of pertinent info such as the grant program, city activities, CDO projects, and technical assistance documents.<sup>185</sup>
- Create documents which educate CDOs on city policies, provide technical assistance, and basic FAQs.
- Provide information and technical assistance dealing with state and federal grants, such as community development block grants.<sup>186</sup>

- Acquire information from CDOs to help inform the city about their abilities and needs.
- Educate staff on CDO concerns and abilities in relation to specific programs or development projects.

### Supportive City Policies for CDOs



The city should provide additional financial and development services support to CDOs, in order to help their fiscal stability and ability to provide affordable housing. Examples of this could be helping CDOs expand and enhance resources and investments, possibly through launching a private donor fund or streamlining financial structures for handling grant money. These organizations should also receive special assistance in development services to streamline the building of affordable housing.

### Utilize Neighborhood Plans and Neighborhood Associations to Inform Planning Decisions



Additional investment is needed in neighborhood planning in order to ensure that neighborhoods have updated, coherent neighborhood and area plans that represent the desires of current residents. These plans should then be used to guide neighborhood change. According to the National Low-Income Housing Coalition, “[t]he development process should enable community members to identify the types of housing, services and infrastructure that should exist in their neighborhood. The process should value longtime residents’ visions of neighborhood change and give the power of decision-making to community residents. A healthy community is one that acknowledges and supports the importance of racial equity, community and culture.”<sup>187</sup>

## Community Development Assistance

### Community Development Grant Program



This program would fund local development efforts by community organizations through a competitive grant process. This was one of the most effective pathways to empowering the local community to protect itself against displacement cited by Dr. Ian Carlton of ECONorthwest, who advised the research team while in Portland. This grant could take on many forms. Some ideas for these are listed below:

**Leverage Funding:** Design a program which leverages diverse funding sources which are then reinvested into the community through community organizations. Guidelines

and oversight will be needed to ensure appropriate use of funds.<sup>188</sup>

**Partner with local keystone businesses:**

Large local employers should be encouraged to play a larger role in supporting community development efforts. For example, TEP contributes approximately \$1.5 million annually to local non-profit groups. This includes \$250,000 in competitive Community Impact Grants.<sup>189</sup>

**Community Benefit Agreements (CBAs)**



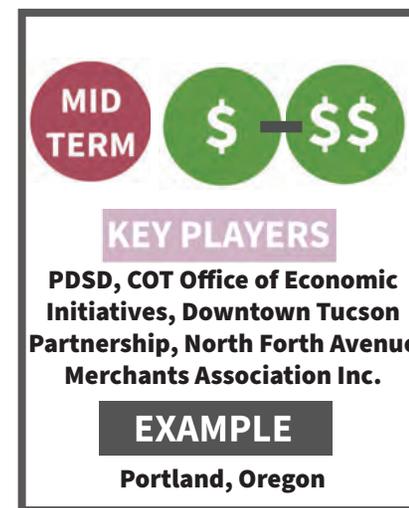
Community benefit agreements (CBAs) are a tactic used to ensure that new development responds to local needs, such as affordable housing. CBAs are legally binding contracts between developers

and community members that ensure the community benefits from local projects and give the public a voice in shaping the project.<sup>190</sup> While blanket inclusive zoning is illegal in Arizona, the city can require CBAs as a condition for developers to receive economic incentives.

The benefits of CBAs include increased transparency between the developer and community groups, potentially increased public participation in the development process, and resources to address neighborhood needs.<sup>191</sup> To ensure the success of CBAs, the agreements must have clear and concrete deliverables, timeframes, and requirements for monitoring and enforcement.<sup>192</sup> Additionally, since a CBA is a legal contract, community groups should have legal representation to ensure that the community has the capacity to effectively engage and negotiate.<sup>193</sup>

A CBA was recently negotiated in Tucson as a part of the Union on Sixth development. Here groups representing Fourth Avenue businesses used the CBA to ensure space was set aside for local business owners in the new development.<sup>194</sup>

**Create Opportunities for Local Artists and Entrepreneurs**



Gentrification related displacement often dilutes the culture of a community. Providing programs and incentives for local artists and entrepreneurs can help to maintain historical local culture. Many cities have used this economic development strategy to promote local creativity and provide an initial investment that can jumpstart a successful community business and asset.<sup>195</sup>

A number of different creative solutions exist for assisting artists and entrepreneurs. Portland, for example, has many different types of startup funding for local entrepreneurs, including grants, loans, funds and incubators, investment groups, and community public offerings.<sup>196</sup> Additional ways to enhance community support include finding local organizations willing to match

the initial funds offered by the City.

### Identify and Protect Neighborhood Cultural Assets

The infographic features a white background with a black border. At the top left is an orange circle with the text 'SHORT TERM'. To its right are two green circles, each containing a white dollar sign '\$', with a horizontal line connecting them. Below these icons is a purple rectangular box with the text 'KEY PLAYERS' in white. Underneath that is a black rectangular box with the text 'PDS, Neighborhood associations, University of ARizona, Southwest Folklife Alliance' in white. Below that is a dark grey rectangular box with the text 'EXAMPLE' in white. At the bottom is a black rectangular box with the text 'RETHOS, Minnesota' in white.

As development within the City of Tucson continues, residents can utilize participatory tools to help protect the assets in their neighborhood. Community asset mapping is a placemaking tool that can be utilized to offer documentation of culturally significant places, strengths and resources that are unique to the community.<sup>197</sup> This bottom-up, volunteer-based project offers a critical perspective of community values, defined by communities. This tool can help residents communicate to city leaders and developers the assets and experiences that need to be preserved, creating a link between planning, culture, and economic development.<sup>198</sup> As a placemaking tool, it

also promotes a sense of identity within the community and a sense of empowerment.

There have been many cultural mapping projects that have been led by community organizations in Tucson in the past. In 2016, students from the University of Arizona (UA) created South Tucson Cultural Assets, a project to help leverage economic development and cultural tourism. The Southwest Folklife Alliance helped in that project and has gone on to create more like it, including La Doce, a cultural asset map of Tucson's South 12th Avenue cultural and culinary corridor.<sup>199</sup> Currently, a new cultural asset mapping project is being done by UA students and local neighborhood volunteers. The city should provide support to continue these efforts.

### Update Plans based on Displacement Risk Index

The infographic features a white background with a black border. At the top left is a dark blue circle with the text 'LONG TERM' in white. To its right is a green circle containing a white dollar sign '\$'. Below these icons is a purple rectangular box with the text 'KEY PLAYERS' in white. Underneath that is a black rectangular box with the text 'PDS, Neighborhood Services Staff, Neighborhood Associations, University of Arizona' in white. Below that is a dark grey rectangular box with the text 'EXAMPLE' in white. At the bottom is a black rectangular box with the text 'N/A' in white.

The displacement risk index created for this report offers a tool for identifying areas that show higher risks of displacement. By utilizing this index as a guide, the city of Tucson can focus anti-displacement efforts in these areas. This is something that needs to be updated over time.

# IMPLEMENTATION GUIDE

	POLICY CATEGORY	IMPLEMENTATION LEVEL	COST ESTIMATE	KEY PLAYERS	EXAMPLE
HOUSING TRUST FUND	AFFORDABLE HOUSING	SHORT	\$\$	METROPOLITAN HOUSING COMMISSION	AUSTIN, TX
ADJUST LITHC AFFORDABILITY TERM	AFFORDABLE HOUSING	MID	\$	PDSO, HCD, AZ DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING	PORTLAND, OR
PARTNER WITH SCHOOL DISTRICTS	AFFORDABLE HOUSING	LONG	\$	PDSO, LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS	AUSTIN, TX
SPLIT-RATE TAXES	AFFORDABLE HOUSING	MID	\$\$	PDSO	PITTSBURGH, PA
MORE MISSING MIDDLE HOUSING	AFFORDABLE HOUSING	MID	\$	PDSO, DEVELOPERS, BANKS, LENDERS	FLAGSTAFF, AZ
URBAN INFILL HOUSING TOOL	AFFORDABLE HOUSING	MID	\$	DEVELOPERS	N/A
STREAMLINE PERMIT PROCESSES	AFFORDABLE HOUSING	SHORT	\$\$	PDSO	PORTLAND, OR
ACCESSORY DWELLING UNITS	AFFORDABLE HOUSING	SHORT	\$	PDSO	FLAGSTAFF, AZ
MORE AFFORDABLE HOUSING PRODUCTS	AFFORDABLE HOUSING	SHORT	\$	PDSO	FLAGSTAFF, AZ
COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS	AFFORDABLE HOUSING	MID	\$\$-\$\$\$	PCCLT, SOUTHERN AZ LAND TRUST	FLAGSTAFF, AZ
AFFORDABLE HOUSING PORTAL	AFFORDABLE HOUSING	SHORT	\$\$	N/A	N/A
PARKING REFORM	EQUITABLE TOD AND INFRASTRUCTURE	MID	\$	PDSO, TDOT, PARK TUCSON	PORTLAND, OR
COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT WITH TOD	EQUITABLE TOD AND INFRASTRUCTURE	MID	\$	PDSO, TDOT, PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT GROUPS	METRO TRANSIT, MN
INCREASE ENGAGEMENT	EQUITABLE TOD AND INFRASTRUCTURE	SHORT	\$\$	PDSO, TDOT	N/A

	POLICY CATEGORY	IMPLEMENTATION LEVEL	COST ESTIMATE	KEY PLAYERS	EXAMPLE
EQUITY SCORECARD	EQUITABLE TOD AND INFRASTRUCTURE	MID	\$-\$\$	PDS, TDOT, UA	METRO TRANSIT, MN
CLARIFY EQUITY GOALS	EQUITABLE TOD AND INFRASTRUCTURE	SHORT	\$	VARIOUS CITY DEPARTMENTS	N/A
EDUCATE RENTERS	RENTER ASSISTANCE	SHORT	\$-\$\$	VARIOUS NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS	HCIDLA, CA
PROVIDE LEGAL ASSISTANCE	RENTER ASSISTANCE	MID	\$-\$\$	VARIOUS LEGAL AID PROVIDERS	HCIDLA, CA
PARTNER WITH NPOs	RENTER ASSISTANCE	MID	\$	PDS, HCD, MHC	AUSTIN, TX
WORK TOGETHER WITH CDCs	COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS	MID	\$	PDS, VARIOUS CDCs	SAN ANTONIO, TX
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION STAFF LIAISON	COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS	SHORT	\$\$	PDS	EDINA, MN
SUPPORT CDOs	COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS	MID	\$	PDS, COMMUNITY STAFF LIAISON, SVP	AUSTIN, TX
UTILIZE NEIGHBORHOOD PLANS	COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS	MID	\$	PDS, COMMUNITY STAFF LIAISON, NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS	N/A
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT GRANT PROGRAM	COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS	MID	\$\$-\$\$\$	HCD, MHC, VARIOUS COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS	PORTLAND, OR
COMMUNITY BENEFIT AGREEMENTS	COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS	MID	\$\$	PDS, DEVELOPERS, NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS/COALITIONS	OPPORTUNITY FOR FOURTH AVENUE, AZ
SUPPORT LOCAL ARTISTS	COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS	MID	\$-\$\$	VARIOUS CITY DEPARTMENTS, DTP, NORTH 4TH AVE MERCHANTS	PORTLAND, OR
PROTECT CULTURAL ASSETS	COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS	SHORT	\$-\$\$	PDS, UA, NAs, SOUTHWEST FOLKLIFE ALLIANCE	RETHOS, MN
UPDATE PLANS REGULARLY	COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS	LONG	\$	PDS, UA, NAs	N/A

# NEXT STEPS

This report demonstrates a first step in understanding the nature of gentrification and displacement in Tucson. Still there is further research which can be done to acquire a complete picture of displacement related challenges. For example, while this research acquired demographic neighborhood data to understand displacement at the local level, there was minimal data collected through public outreach or contact with local leaders. This was due to the time available for this research, as well as the limitations of current social distancing measures. Without public perspective, any research on displacement is partially incomplete.

Other avenues of inquiry the City of Tucson should explore include:

- An in-depth Housing Study, which explores market trends of Tucson, specifically looking at the areas with high concentrations of vulnerable populations. The University of Arizona, Eller School of Business Management is currently conducting a housing study and this report recommends that data from this research should be paired with the findings produced by the Eller team.
- Engage with the community in creating a cultural asset inventory. There are numerous benefits to documenting and preserving cultural assets and historic locations. Some of these include Promoting more sustainable building practices, encouraging pedestrian activity and economic development, and securing affordable housing.<sup>206 207</sup> However, this is also a valuable tool for maintaining cultural identity and preventing cultural displacement, both of which are concerns for neighborhood leadership.<sup>208</sup> An initiative from Helen Erickson and a group of University Arizona students has begun outreach to create a cultural asset map. The City of Tucson should connect with this project in an effort to engage neighborhood residents about cultural resources and to help create a valuable tool for future city planning efforts.<sup>209</sup>
- Explore the link between education and housing trends. The connection between education investment and neighborhood investment is inescapable. While this report is not aware of any current effort to study how education investment is effecting Tucson residents and displacement, it would be an important topic for further in-depth exploration.





# Appendix 1: State Legislation

## State Preemptions

The term preemption describes an act or law which takes precedence over a lower governing system. In the case of Arizona, there are several preemptive laws which overrule local legislative ability in zoning and land use. These limits on land use controls include:

### Preclusion on Inclusionary Zoning:

The State of Arizona prohibits inclusionary zoning. This means that no local municipality can require low-income housing as part of a new development. This is a part of the Senate Bill number 1072, which was passed and signed in April, 2015. The argument for this preemption is that local regulation on development is inefficient and burdensome.

Inclusionary zoning (IZ) has become a common tool for bolstering affordable housing stock in cities across the United States. In one article it was mentioned that over 70% of IZ policy was adopted after the year 2000.<sup>210</sup> There is also evidence that IZ is working in creating affordable housing in many locals, with the most reported units being produced in Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and California.<sup>211</sup> And while there are some municipalities which report a lack of anticipated effectiveness, there is little to no-evidence that supports the argument posed by Arizona legislators. In fact, there is a vast amount of research which suggest that inclusionary zoning policy, if done correctly, can perpetually create lasting affordable housing stock.<sup>212</sup>

### Preemption on Rent-Control

Rent control is a tactic for limiting social disruptions caused by rent increase. It is a popular tactic for large coastal cities in the US and has historically been an easy fit for cities with limited growth boundaries, and limited ability to develop large amounts of affordable housing stock. However, 32 states have preemptions on rent control policy, barring cities from utilizing it. Arizona is one of these states, having passed the preemption in the 1990's.<sup>213</sup> The effectiveness of rent control is hotly contested. Many classic economists have noted that in the long term it stifles the creation of a diverse (and affordable) housing stock. And while current research on rent control states there may be positive effects in the short term for keeping low-income people in their homes, overall rent control has mixed results in preventing gentrification and displacement. Currently the only states that allow rent control are New York, New Jersey, California, Maryland and Washington, DC.<sup>214</sup>

### Short term rentals

In 2016 Arizona passed preemptive legislation which bars cities or towns from prohibiting vacation rentals.<sup>215</sup> However, Arizona cities have seen some devastating effects on the affordable housing stock as a result of this legislation in the last year, and so the state has recently amended this

legislation. The new amended policy puts limits on the use of short-term rentals and restricts the rental of units used for parties or “events that need a permit.”<sup>216</sup> This amendment has not addressed the issues regarding housing stock. When the preemption was put in place the thought process behind it was to secure the rights of homeowners to be able to make money on their property. However, now the feeling has changed as Airbnb and VRBO has consumed housing stock, with the Governor currently stating “I think there were some unintended consequences in a law that had the best of intentions.”<sup>217</sup>

## **State Affordable Housing Initiatives**

### **State Tax Incentives**

Due to the nature of Arizona land use law, incentive policies are the most accessible form of development control at the local level. This can come in the form of fee waivers, expedited permits and tax breaks for developers who create affordable housing. At the state and national level, tax exemptions and tax credits are available for developers who are providing low income housing. To qualify for these a developer needs at least 20% or more units that a rent restricted for individuals whose income is 50% or less of the area median gross income (AMGI) or 40% or more units for individuals whose income is 60% or less than AMGI.

### **Arizona Housing Trust Fund**

The Arizona Department of Housing combines federal and state resources to create the State Housing Fund (SHF). The state created a state housing trust fund in the late 1980’s, to help meet the needs of low-income families.<sup>218</sup> The fund is used to build housing units on state or government owned property, however since the recession, the fund has seen severe funding cuts and is only recently receiving money again. The Arizona Housing Coalition is currently trying to restore the fund to its full potential, however the state’s most recent contribution of \$10 million in 2019 is only a quarter of what the fund was prior to the 2008 recession. However, there is new vigor in this current legislative year to allocate more funding in the face of a statewide housing crisis.<sup>219</sup>

## **Education and Poverty Legislation and the Intersection of Displacement.**

### **Education**

The connection between gentrification, housing policy and education is unavoidable. Access to good education drives many family’s decisions about where to live, work and general household economics. Education accounts for the majority of the state’s annual budget, making this an important issue for legislators. Because the state has such influence over how education funding is distributed, it therefore has sway in the real-estate market. In the State of Arizona, the funding formula has interesting elements which could be contributing to disinvestment in neighborhoods.

While Arizona has a typical funding formula which allocates funding for school districts based on enrollment (cost per pupil), there is also a result-based formula in place which gives more money to schools with higher test scores, smaller class size and more experienced teachers.<sup>220</sup> This is an imprecise model, and in Arizona it has left many schools that need extra support severely underfunded. While there is some money allocated for school districts that are struggling, the vast majority of money is going to schools in more affluent, privileged areas.<sup>221</sup>

What's more, Arizona has invested substantially in charter schools, encouraging a privatized/semi-corporate model of education. This is a growing trend in the United States, however this has produced much controversy, as there have been issues with corruption scandals and funding mismanagement.<sup>222</sup> Charter Schools are not required to be in any specific location, and they often choose to set up in more affluent neighborhoods, leaving underserved populations far or excluded from the education system.<sup>223</sup>

The intersection between gentrification, access and education is a topic of interest in modern literature, especially in regards to up-ward mobility and race. In one article, scholars identified communities in Chicago, and demonstrated how securing public and affordable housing/public-school investment helped lift minority populations out of poverty, creating more sustainable mixed income neighborhoods.<sup>224</sup> Another article looked at one of the higher quality, most diverse school districts in the country (Montgomery County, MD) and found that this is partially due to a long standing Inclusionary housing policy.<sup>225</sup>

This is a topic which warrants significantly more study, and it may be an important avenue for inquiry. The City of Tucson has the ability to link housing to education and lobby for more equitable education funding policy. This would solve some issues regarding neighborhood change and take on the more comprehensive issue of lifting underserved communities out of poverty in the long term.

### **Poverty legislation**

The state's method of dealing with poverty is another adjacent topic which warrants significantly deeper research to grasp the full effects. However, the major influential aspects of state legislation on poverty are the definitions of poverty used to qualify people for assistance and the number of state-run programs available. In dealing with poverty, the State of Arizona relies heavily on federal programs.

Arizona is the strictest state in the nation for welfare benefits, and limits families to receive those benefits for only 12 months. And recently the state voted to lower the maximum income level for families applying for the TANF cash-assistance program. This means that many families who are below the national poverty level might not qualify for assistance at the state level. Because of this, residents in the state rely heavily on significantly on federal assistance as a way of escaping poverty.<sup>226</sup>



# Appendix 2: Data limitations and data dictionary

## Data limitations:

The data limitations inherent to ACS data include the following:

First, ACS data is an estimate with a margin of error so there will naturally be some variation in the data from what is actually occurring on the ground. The data and questions asked in the ACS may also change from year to year, meaning that some data may only be available from older datasets.

Second, ACS data is temporally limited and lags behind current demographic trends by at least a year. This lag could be a serious limitation for addressing displacement, especially in neighborhoods which are changing very rapidly. Through the data, it may not appear that any significant change is occurring in one given year. It is possible that the study areas in Tucson undergoing more rapid development and change may be experiencing greater demographic changes than our data horizon allows.

Third, the geographic nature of ACS data is inherently inaccurate for mapping change occurring in specific neighborhoods. Most commonly, census data is available at the census tract level. Tracts usually comprise several city blocks or neighborhoods and make limiting the data to one specific area more difficult. This issue was noted in the methodology section with the main fix being to convert the data into a raster. On a continuous surface, the data can be restricted to a geographic boundary, such as a neighborhood.

## Data Dictionary:

### Data Used for Housing Indices

The data compiled into the map above utilized data collected from the ACS. Data including median rent (dollars) which was then converted into a percentage, tracking change from 2010 to 2017. Percentage of Renters, the ratio of renters to other occupants within an area, was also tracked from 2010 to 2017. These 2 indicators of gentrification were all normalized by being turned into a percentage, the methodology used for these three datasets is:  $(2017 \text{ values} - 2010 \text{ values}) / (2010 \text{ values})$ . This normalization helped turn incomparable measurements into more parallel data that could be laid atop one another for analysis. The time frame selected for this dataset followed from a conversation with an economist in Portland, Oregon, that noted ACS data can be notoriously idiosyncratic and much time could be spent pouring over the skewness of numbers within. Block Groups change over time, both in terms of estimates and in terms of physical boundaries. As the data collected was georeferenced, a direct translation from one year to another proved to be an imperfect methodology as Tucson has gained more census tracts from 2010 to 2017, making simple arithmetic difficult. The other important reason why change was not mapped from even earlier times was due to the economic downturn the country faced in 2008. The only way the GIS researchers could reasonably find a way around these challenges that

was still topographically accurate was to rasterize the data. The following data was then stored in the same projected coordinate system as the demographic data that is to be discussed below. The data is later to be combined in preparation for creating an index.

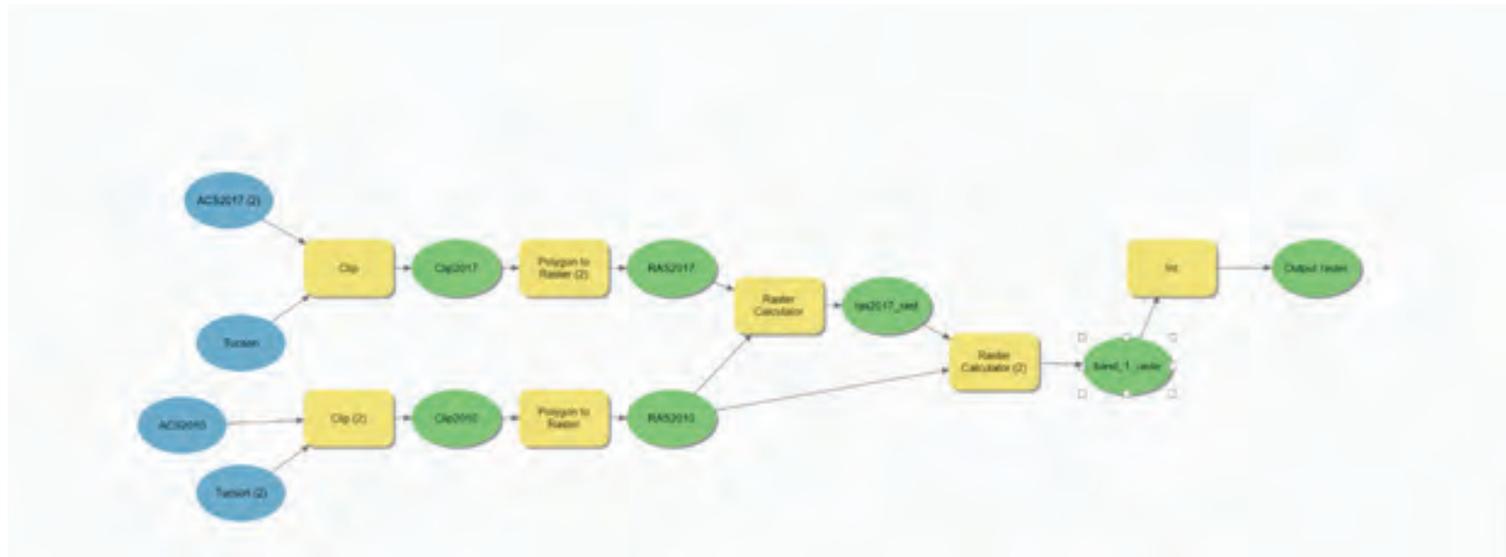


Figure 2: The image above shows the model used to convert georeferenced American Community Survey Data into useable information for analysis. Rasterization is the process of turning map features such as block groups and census tracts into “pixels” with values. Each pixel would represent its respective map feature’s value. Pixels with from different years could then be compared.

### Data Used for Demographic Indices

The data used for housing indices were Racial Change (ACS Population Data 2000 – 2017) and tracked changes in all races/ethnicities except Non-Hispanic/Latinx Whites. While it might be argued that some races are seeing more upward mobility than others, there are some people within these demographics that are marginalized and are susceptible to losing their cultural identities faster than their white counterparts. Another indicator used in demographic indices of displacement was change in educational attainment. Change in educational attainment (an increase in persons with a college degree) indicates that an area is experiencing a more educated population moving in; educational attainment can be seen as an indicator of higher incomes, higher pay, and could sometimes invoke a sense of alienation from longtime residents. The final demographic

variable used as a demographic indicator of displacement is change in median income (dollars). All of these demographic indicators were normalized using a percentage as well, however, demographic data can be more accurately normalized using the methodology,  $n = (\text{value} - \text{minimum value}) / (\text{maximum value} - \text{minimum value})$ .

### **Creating a Displacement Index**

The researchers' datasets were compiled, however, creating a meaningful map out of the information created previously proved to be challenging. Following in the spirit of the Austin Report, Uprooted, this report will utilize similar indicators of displacement, tracking these indicators' change over time, and then creating an index gauging an area's risk for potential displacement. The researchers perused Uprooted for valuable insights into how to map displacement. It was difficult to create an exact replica of the report for Tucson for the following reasons (1) the Austin Report utilized a "crosswalk," allowing their researchers to accurately track change across time between different census boundaries; this software was available but had strings attached in terms of publication. (2) Though the Austin Report certainly had a method for tracking change across off-years between the crosswalk, this was not justified in their methodology for us to use. (3) The researchers could not ethically create a carbon copy of the Austin Report and consider that an acceptable deliverable to our client, the researchers owe their insight of Tucson and Southern Arizona to come through in the report.

The datasets were compiled into one large working document and then reclassified into datasets that could be formed into an index. The index was created by reclassifying the data as shown in the following tables: pertinent to displacement, (2) a medium risk of displacement given the most current indicators, and (3) a high risk of displacement given the most current indicators. The composite score would mean that the highest value any given block group could receive would be a value of 18, and 18 would indicate the highest risk for displacement. The Low Risk Category in Figure 1 represents values from 1 – 8 on the index, The Medium Risk Category represents 8 – 10 on the index, and 10 – 15 represents the highest risk possible.



# Appendix 3: Historic preservation and gentrification

## **The Importance of Historic Preservation and Creating a Cultural Asset Inventory:**

There are numerous benefits to historic preservation. Some of the most common arguments for it include: Promoting more sustainable building practices, and boosting land value, and encouraging pedestrian activity and economic development.<sup>227</sup> But while these are some of the more common arguments, there are other benefits to historic preservation which directly impact the gentrification and displacement.

There are also many who argue that historic preservation helps in securing affordable housing. For example, in San Antonio one report found that it was nearly impossible to build new and rent or sell cheap without subsidy and when units of older housing are razed, a unit of affordable housing is lost forever. They therefore found that it was beneficial to maintain older housing stock as a means to provide affordable housing.<sup>228</sup> One extremely effective way planners can enact housing preservation historic preservation is by creating zoning which promotes mixing blocks. As one report indicated, by mixing old and new development a municipality can promote “missing-middle housing”, active streetscapes and cultural diversity.<sup>229</sup>

Looking beyond some of the physical and economic benefits to historic preservation, it is also essential in maintaining cultural identity and preventing cultural displacement. Loss of cultural identity has been an issue for Tucson since the mid 1970’s and the practice of “urban renewal”.<sup>230</sup> This may seem a distant past, but it has created distrust between residents and the city ever since. Further, there is some evidence which suggests cultural identity loss is having a great effect on current neighborhood residents. Members of The Barrio Neighborhood Coalition and other neighborhood community groups are expressing the sense of cultural loss in the rapid development which has occurred in the last decade.

A report by Helen Erikson and Betty Villegas does a complete job of outlining the connection between the recent trends of cultural displacement and historic preservation. The report describes the necessity in Tucson to further embrace historic preservation policy and provides policy recommendations as a means of preventing residential and cultural displacement. So, while this report does not provide a complete demonstration of these issues, we encourage the City of Tucson to reference this report for more detail.<sup>231</sup>

## **Next Steps in Historic Preservation**

Identification is the first step in maintaining cultural heritage and preserving legacy businesses and housing stock. There is a need to make a significant inventory of the cultural assets of the Tucson neighborhoods. This would be a powerful tool, which could be used as a guide for future

development and to help create protective policy. A tangential report, “Tucson Community Treasures Project” by also a University of Arizona student group has demonstrated the power and importance of cultural asset mapping. This is a process which involves community member participation to document cultural assets in their neighborhoods. Not only does this map make for an excellent tool for the city, but the role of community engagement also promotes community buy-in and historic preservation education. Expanding on this research and expanding the scope of the cultural asset mapping would be beneficial in the long term.

# Appendix 4: Policy Inventory - Various U.S. Cities

Jurisdiction	Policy/Strategy	PHYSICAL	ECONOMIC	SOCIAL/CULTURAL	FINDINGS
Albuquerque, NM	Historic Zoning Overlay	X		X	Heading on same path as Tucson. Currently, historic overlay zone is the main tool they are using to combat gentrification. Empowering community leaders with resources and direction has also been key.
	Conservation Development Standards	X			
	Community Leadership Outreach			X	
Austin, TX	Right-to-Return	X		X	More gentrified than Tucson. Main findings: Don't offer in-lieu affordable housing fee; work with the development community; hold the development community responsible through targeted incentives; use tax programs to mitigate property tax charges; focus strategies solely on gentrification; offer more renter protection; community benefits agreements should run with the land and be a maximum one year lease; work with the neighborhood associations.
Boise, ID	Urban Renewal Overlay	X			Similar to Tucson. There needs to be a greater supply of city-provided affordable housing programs need to buy in from the residents/community associations and the city leadership.
	Rise In Rent Notice	X	X		
	Grow Our Housing Plan	X	X		
	Community Development Block Grant Program	X	X		
	Housing Incentive Program		X		
	Accessory Dwelling Units	X			
Charlotte, NC	Transit-Oriented Development Rezoning (Parking Maximums)	X			More gentrified than Tucson. Much of the gentrification that is occurring is due to residents being "priced out" of where they live as jobs and population rates grow. Focusing on TOD zones has been critical in helping the city to incentivize development that includes affordable housing in critical areas.
	Affordable Housing Bonus	X			
	Opportunity Zones	X	X		
	Opportunity Task Force		X		

Flagstaff, AZ	Form-Based Code	X			Similar to Tucson. Important to work with community and understand how those who are in the process of being displaced view their options. Goal of city to enforce higher production of affordable housing options. City needs to focus on providing affordable housing in amenity-rich areas.
	Home-ownership Benefit		X		
	Housing Rehabilitation	X	X	X	
	Community Land Trust	X			
Los Angeles, CA	Preservation of Affordable Housing	X			More gentrified than Tucson. Gentrification is happening in pockets around the city. There has been a loss of social services provided to the community as communities go through gentrification. Understanding the difference and importance of voluntary mobility in comparison to involuntary mobility.
	Production of Affordable Housing	X			
	Asset Building		X	X	
Phoenix, AZ	South-Central Transit-Oriented Development Steering Committee	X	X		Similar to Tucson. Important to clarify and understand the difference between the effects of gentrification on a sprawling city in comparison to one that is more compact. Also, the citizen perception of gentrification in a given area may have an effect on how that area progresses.
San Antonio, TX	Risk Mitigation Fund		X		More gentrified than Tucson. Lots of policies and strategies that have been effectuated by the city - important to research which have worked well and which have not worked well. Important to create policies and strategies that address displacement as completely as possible.
	House Bill 1102		X		
	House Bill 240		X		
	Preserving Dynamic and Diverse Neighborhoods Task Force	X		X	
	Infill Pilot Program	X			
	Comprehensive Plan Housing Strategy	X	X	X	
	Neighborhood and Housing Services Department	X	X	X	
Suzhou, China	Gentrification Modeling	X		X	More gentrified than Tucson. Important to learn from areas that have already experienced the effects of gentrification, anticipate those same effects in other areas, and try to address them before they become problematic. Having a plan and resources already available is very important.
	Unified Development Plan	X			
	Balanced Housing Plan	X			

New York City, NY	Blacklisting Ban			X			
	Certificate of No Harrassment		X	X			
	Community Land Trust	X					
	Development Moratorium	X					
	Accessory Dwelling Units	X					
	Empty Home Tax	X					
	Flip Tax	X					
	Just Cause Evictions			X			
	Lease Non-Renewal		X	X			
	Rental Relocation Assistance	X	X				
	Right to Counsel			X			
	Housing Tax Credit	X	X				
	Tenant Protection Act		X	X			
	Equitable Transit-Oriented Development	X	X				
	Joint-Use Agreements			X			
Boston, MA	Housing Trust Fund	X	X				
	Targeted Hiring		X				
	Legal Fee Relief		X				
	Education Fee Relief		X				
	Tenant Opportunity to Purchase	X	X	X			

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